

KW-III & File No. 25/4/N40-Vol I

SECRET

भारत सरकार  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

विदेश मंत्रालय  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

D. No. 3115/N40/2000

नई दिल्ली  
NEW DELHI

07-04-2000

फाइल नं०  
FILE NO.

WI / 411 / 05 / 15 - EE

खण्ड  
VOLUME

KW-III & File No. 25/4/N40-Vol I

टिप्पणियां/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय  
Subject

Plans see inside

Pps received from EE Dir

Cover  
changed  
on  
09/04/02  
DJ.

Keep  
28/12/15



पिछले हवाले  
Previous Reference

बाद के हवाले  
Later Reference

Declassified

Pres  
clipping  
Photocopies

(अरुण कुमार चटर्जी)  
(ARUN KUMAR CHATTERJEE)  
जुनी सचिव (वि.प्र. वि.)  
Joint Secretary (CNV)  
विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली  
Ministry of External Affairs  
New Delhi

Section 13

Corr - Pages 1 to 160



1140 - JSC CNV 2000

6/4

~~Secret~~

Most Immediate

①

No. <sup>2034</sup> /JS (EE)/2000  
Ministry of External Affairs  
(Europe East Division)

3115/No. 0/2000

7/4

I enclose copies of a full set of papers available in EE Division on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. This would be useful for information and as reference material. The papers could be retained in NGO along with other papers of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

(M. Ganapathi)  
Joint Secretary (EE)  
April 6, 2000

Joint Secretary (CNV)

Keep for the Commission's personal with  
other M.S.

6/4

So far

SM

6/4



# Nehru, Gandhi letters show Netaji alive after '45 crash

By DHIMAN CHATTOPADHYAY

## SPOTLIGHT

Calcutta, Aug. 26: In a letter to then British Prime Minister Clement Attlee in December 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote that he had news of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's whereabouts in Russia after August 1945 — days after he was supposed to have died in an aircrash near Tokyo. In a similar letter to his biographer Louis Fischer a few months earlier, Mahatma Gandhi wrote that Netaji was alive in Russia in July 1946. These and several other post-war documents unearthed from the archives of the erstwhile East Germany, Soviet Union and the United States have once again threatened to reopen the mystery surrounding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an aircrash at Taihoku in 1945. With most of the new evidence in hand, a Hamburg-based association of expatriate Indians

have now written to Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, urging him to initiate a "serious and scientific" inquiry into the mystery. In a memorandum submitted to the Indian Prime Minister on August 15, 1998, and signed by more than 200 Indian expatriates, members of the group have claimed that the weight of existing evidence seriously challenges the aircrash theory. The most important pieces of evidence that have now come to light are:

■ Dr Radha Benode Pal, eminent jurist who represented India on the War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo, was shown the Allied intelligence report of the alleged plane crash by the American judge at the tribunal. According to this report, there was no plane crash at Taihoku within a time span of a week before or after August 18, 1945. (Letter from Netaji's nephew, the late Amiya Nath Bose, to then

### Continued from Page 1

Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao in 1992).

■ Deposition made under oath to the Khosla Commission by Shyam Lal Jain, personal stenographer of Jawaharlal Nehru, regarding a letter from Nehru to Prime Minister Clement Attlee of Britain in December 1946 referring to Subhas Bose's entry into Russian territory after August 1945. (Khosla Commission Records).

■ A letter written by Khurshed Naoroji on behalf of Mahatma Gandhi to Louis Fischer on July 22, 1946, mentioning that Gandhi had information to the effect that Subhas Bose was alive and in Russia in July 1946. (Princeton University Archives, US).

■ In early 1950, Reimund Schabel, a well-known journalist from the erstwhile East Germany told Ms Emilie Schenkl Bose, wife of Netaji, that he had information regarding Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union. (Letter from Ms Schenkl Bose.)

■ Grave doubts expressed by Mamoru Shigemitsu, foreign minister of Japan after the war (who held the same office under wartime Prime Minister Tojo as well), during the Shah Nawaz Commission's visit to Japan in 1955. (Letters between Amiya Nath Bose and Shigemitsu in 1955).

■ Refusal of solicitor-general's office to place Government of India records on the subject before the Calcutta high court in 1993.

■ Recent revelations regarding the existence of KGB files on Netaji after 1945, now available with three research scholars in the city of Calcutta.

The signatories, who include some senior Indian diplomats as well as various well-known and eminent citizens, have now urged the Prime Minister "to place before the people of India all relevant documents in the custody of the government of India related to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose."

They have also sought his intervention in requesting the governments of Russia, Britain and Japan to disclose files which can throw any light on the subject.

JS/CEE

Ph spk.

Am  
27/8

les (EE-A)

Spoken faced to Eto Mmuv.

27/8

10/8/98 SNT





No. MOS/AMB/818/93

AMBASSADOR

S/1565-EE/93  
2877

7265/FS/93

SECRET

EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
MOSCOW.

June 24, 1993.

S.976/EAM/93

2/7.

My dear FS

We have learnt from a Russian Indologist, Prof. Albert Belsky, that the bi-monthly journal, "Asia and Africa Today", with which he is associated, will soon start publishing a series of articles, based on classified KGB archives, alleging inter-alia that Netaji Subash Bose was a MI-6 (British) agent and that one of his close aides was a KGB agent.

2. From time to time, there has been media speculation on Netaji's visits to the then Soviet Union in 1941 and during and after 1945. The Russian Foreign Ministry had informed us in January 1992, on the basis of the documents available in their Central and Republican archives, that there was no evidence that Netaji had stayed in the Soviet Union during or after 1945. We had also sent to MEA some archival documents obtained from the Soviet Foreign Office in 1990. None of these materials contained even a hint of such scurrilous allegations.

3. The journal "Asia and Africa" has a limited circulation, but it is subscribed to by libraries, academic institutions and scholars in Russia and abroad. If such a sensational story appears in the journal, it will be picked up immediately by journalists based in Moscow. Some Indian journalists have already got wind of it.

4. In the prevalent situation in Russia, which is vastly different from that in the former Soviet Union, official pressures or persuasion are hardly effective in preventing the publication of articles even in journals of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Nonetheless, I have asked our Counsellor (Information) to meet the Deputy Editor-in-Chief to check whether the report about the forthcoming articles is correct and, if so, to persuade him not to publish articles containing such concocted charges about a highly respected national leader whose memory is cherished by the people of India. If the journal does have plans to carry such articles, I will also speak to some others, though I doubt whether such demarches would be of much use.

With warm regards

Yours sincerely,

Rosen  
(R. Sen)

Shri J.N. Dixit,  
Foreign Secretary,  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

1st July 93

We should try to prevent publication. Any action to be taken on the story can be done only after we have some reliable information.

EAM

EAM may see this letter for information we may pre-empt this articles being published by standing stories in our newspapers saying that

we have advance info on such stories about to be published in some Russian magazines by disident Russian Elements who have some antagonism to north India. For Guidance.



14

PM may kindly see Ambassador Sui's letter  
for information.

Diet Singh

S. 7. 93

7S

PH (separately)





AMBASSADOR

No. MOS/AMB/818/93

EMBASSY OF INDIA, MOSCOW.

June 24, 1993.

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Yours sincerely,

sd/-  
( R. Sen )

Shri J.N. Dixit,  
Foreign Secretary,  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.



Copy to :

- ✓1. Shri Nalin Surie, Joint Secretary (EE), Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi.
2. Shri Prabhakar Menon, Joint Secretary, Prime Minister's Office, New Delhi.

*Best wishes*

*R. Sen*  
( R. Sen )





~~SECRET~~

6579  
Dated 8/7

EMBASSY OF INDIA, (7)

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW

Telephone No. 297-08-20  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU

R.L. Narayan,  
Minister(Political)

S-1488-EE/CS

13/7

No. Mos/Pol/125/1/93

June 29, 1993

My dear Nalin,

You would have seen Ambassador's Secret letter No. Mos/Amb/818/93 dated 24 June, 1993 addressed to Foreign Secretary and copy endorsed to you and JS(PMO) regarding a series of articles on Netaji Subash Bose which we have learnt is due to appear in the journal "Asia and Africa Today". In continuation of this letter I am enclosing for your information copy of note recorded by me which Ambassador has asked me to send to you and JS(PMO).

Report on 8/7/93

PS-

8/7/93

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

( R.L. Narayan )

Shri Nalin Surie,  
Joint Secretary (EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi

Copy to Shri Prabhakar Menon, JS(PMO), Prime Minister's Office, New Delhi.

(R.L. Narayan)  
Minister (Political)



~~SECRET~~

(8)

Prof Belsky told me that the journal Asia and Africa Today will soon carry a series of articles on Netaji Bose by its Chief Editor Teirazoff. The burden of these articles, based apparently on hitherto secret KGB documentation, is that Bose was a British agent.

2. This charge is, of course, absolutely scurrilous since Bose's entire life was spent in fighting the British. Nevertheless, the publication of these articles is likely to cause considerable furore in our press and Parliament and more importantly cast an avoidable cloud on Indo-Russian relations.

3. Asia and Africa Today has, like many other academic journals of its type, fallen on hard times, though it remains one of the few magazines to be fully translated into English and is subscribed to by libraries and academic institutes. I remember being approached by the Editorial staff of Asia and Africa Today about an year ago with a proposal to carry an entire issue devoted to India on the occasion of our Republic/Independence Day with funding through advertisements etc. At that time we had not considered the proposal worthwhile in view of the magazine's relatively low circulation.

4. In my view it would be worthwhile for Counsellor (Inf) to meet Mr. Teirazoff and explain to him the facts of Netaji's life as well as the high esteem, bordering on reverence, in which he still held by the Indian people. An effort should be made to persuade him not to publish the articles and failing this to let us see an advance copy so that we could, if necessary, send a response.

We can try but in the present circumstances it will be difficult to influence the Russian journals (R.L. Narayan) Minister (Political) 23.6.1993

May also send a copy

Ambassador

of this note to TS(Inf) and TS(PHO)

By 11.6.93

L. Dutt (Inf)

L. Narayan





No. MOS/AMB/853/93

AMBASSADOR

S/1502-EE/93  
12/7

By. No. 6486 JS (EE) 7/7  
Dated 6/7

9609/AS/93

9/7

11/5/93

SECRET

EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
MOSCOW.

July 2, 1993.

7/11/US(EE)/93.

12.7.

Dear Nalin

In continuation of my letter No. MOS/AMB/818/93 of June 24, I enclose a self-explanatory note recorded by Counsellor Ajai Malhotra, after his meeting with Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the journal "Asia and Africa Today".

But wishes

Yours sincerely,

R. Sen  
( R. Sen )

Shri Nalin Surie,  
Joint Secretary (EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Ref: Articles on Netaji Subhash Bose

Imp & urgent

My please see for info + orders.

FS. has seen.

Ans  
9/7

Assure.  
6/7/93

Assure  
12/7

FS(CAP)

JS/EE

US/EE/93/12/7

6/13/7

Mr



~~SECRET~~

(10)

Embassy of India  
Moscow

Meeting with Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief,  
"Asia and Africa Today", at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 93

As desired by the Ambassador, I called on Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the monthly journal "Asia and Africa Today" at 1200 hrs. on 29 June 1993. After exchanging pleasantries and exploring the possibility of further cooperation between the Mission and the journal "Asia and Africa Today", I enquired from Touradjev whether "Asia and Africa Today" would soon start publishing a series of articles, based on KGB archives, alleging inter-alia that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was an MI-6 agent and that a close aide of his had worked for the KGB.

Touradjev confirmed that the August (8/93) issue of "Asia and Africa Today" would carry an article titled "The Secret Behind the Death of S.C. Bose" by Prof. Raikov, a well known Indologist based in Liptsk. The article would explore the various theories advanced from time to time, regarding the circumstances of Netaji's death. Its inclusion was essentially meant to generate reader interest in two further articles which would be published in the September (9/93) and October (10/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today". Touradjev clarified that he was the author of these two articles and that they were based on KGB archives which he had been privileged to personally examine and which had been shared with him by contacts he had in the Russian intelligence service. In an attempt to convince me that his articles were based on genuine KGB documents, Touradjev showed me from afar a copy of a letter dated 11/12/1943, marked "MOST SECRET", and addressed by a Col. G.A. Hill of British Intelligence to a Col. Osipov of Soviet Intelligence.

In response to a query, Touradjev clarified that to the best of his knowledge the Russian Intelligence Service did not possess a separate file on Netaji. In his view, this would seem to show that Netaji had never visited the Soviet Union since, at least in earlier years, a file was usually opened on every foreigner arriving in the country. The documents he had based his articles upon were primarily reports filed by the then Russian intelligence



agents in Kabul, letters addressed by British Intelligence to their Soviet counterparts, plus other stray correspondence which he had come across in the KGB archives.

I specifically queried Touradjev as to whether his two articles contained references alleging that Netaji had been a British agent. If so, this would be quite unfortunate, given that Netaji was a widely respected national leader whose memory was deeply cherished by the people of India.

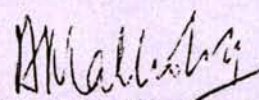
In response to this and other queries, Touradjev made the following points:

- (a) His articles did not bring out that Netaji was a MI-6 agent, in the sense of his being a "paid functionary". Equally, they did, however, show that Netaji "cooperated" with the British. In this context, Touradjev pointed out that without British acquiescence Netaji could not have escaped so easily from India or lived for so long in Kabul. Moreover, the instructions which Netaji sent from Berlin for carrying out subversive acts against the British in India, were never translated into action since the British knew of them and could take corrective measures. Touradjev repeatedly emphasized that the KGB documentation which he had access to left him in no doubt that "Netaji had cooperated with the British". He added that only MI-6 could inform whether the relationship went beyond "cooperation" as additional details would only be available with them. He hoped that, once his articles were published, the British would join in sharing information on Netaji.
- (b) The KGB documentation, however, conclusively established that Bhagat Ram - Netaji's aide in Kabul - had served as an agent of several foreign intelligence services e.g. the British, Russian, German, Italian and others. This would be brought out clearly in his articles.
- (c) His articles would be "scientifically presented" in the sense that they would fully annotated and would provide details of every important document referred to or quoted. They would thus analyze specific documentation and would not be largely speculative.



(d) In his view, the KGB archives material which he has quoted in his articles made Netaji "go up in his esteem, since it showed that he (Netaji) had contributed to the defeat of Fascism". He felt that his articles would in fact show Netaji as being an "even greater nationalist" since Netaji had striven for an independent India, rather than an India subservient to Germany or Japan. Touradjev clarified that the intention behind his articles was not to denigrate Netaji as a leader who had the best interests of India in mind, but to contribute to a better understanding of Netaji's historic role.

In response to my query, Touradjev pointed out that the August (8/93) and September (9/93) issues of "Asia and Africa Today" (containing Prof. Raikov's articles and the first of his two articles) had already been sent to the printers. I did not specifically urge him to have the articles withdrawn, since it was evident that he would not do so in any case.

  
(Ajai Malhotra)  
Counsellor (Inf.)  
30.6. 1993

Ambassador





AMBASSADOR

No. MOS/AMB/853/93

6486  
6/7

S/1884-EE/93  
13/4

EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
MOSCOW.

July 2, 1993.

SECRET

(13)

*Dear Nalin*

In continuation of my letter No.MOS/AMB/818/93 of June 24, I enclose a self-explanatory note recorded by Counsellor Ajai Malhotra, after his meeting with Mr. V.K. Touradjev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the journal "Asia and Africa Today".

*Best wishes*

Yours sincerely,

*R. Sen*  
( R. Sen )

Shri Nalin Surie,  
Joint Secretary (EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

*Ref: Articles in Nalini Subhash*

*Long & brief*

*May please see for info + orders.*

*Qc. L. Sen*  
*6/7/93*

*FS.*

*Keep on file*

*to 13/5/93*

*for 13/5*

*13/5*

*SPR.*

*To 13/5/93*



~~SECRET~~

(14)

Embassy of India  
Moscow

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*Ajai Malhotra*  
(Ajai Malhotra)  
Counsellor (Inf.)  
30.6. 1993

Ambassador



(17)

~~SECRET~~

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER'S OFFICE

Reference Ambassador of India, Moscow's  
letter No. MOS/AMB/818/93 of June 24, 1993.

Notings are reproduced below.

EAM may see this letter for information  
We may pre-empt these articles being published  
by planting stories in our newspapers saying  
that we have advance information on such  
stories about to be published in some Russian  
magazines by dissident Russian elements who  
have some antagonism towards India. For  
guidance.

sd/-  
(J.N. Dixit)  
Foreign Secretary  
1 July, 1993

We should try to prevent publication.  
Any action to be taken on the story can be done  
only after we have seen what is published. PM  
may kindly see Ambassador Sen's letter for  
information.

sd/-  
(Dinesh Singh)  
External Affairs Minister  
5 July, 1993

Separate | FS  
copies | PM

(Sanjay Singh)  
Director (EAMO)  
5 July, 1993

Separate | JS (PMO)  
copies | FS

To file with PMO  
J.S. (EF)

5/7/93

15/7/93

for (16/7)

6/9/93  
6/7/93



411/5/93

TELEX

(18)

FROM: FOREIGN NEW DELHI  
TO : INDEMBASSY MOSCOW

COUNSELLOR(INF) FROM DIRECTOR(EF)

GRATEFUL IF WE COULD BE INFORMED OF PRESENT POSITION  
WITH REGARD TO THE ARTICLE TO BE PUBLISHED ON NETAJI(.)  
REGARDS(.)

...

N.T.T.  
27.10.93

(S JAISHANKAR)  
DIRECTOR(EF)

28/12/93

PKG



Ph





Ajai Malhotra  
Counsellor(Information)

(20)  
MOST IMMEDIATE  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW

Telephone No. 297-08-20  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU

No. MOS/POL/303/2/93

29 October 1993

*My dear Tai,*

In continuation of my telex of date, enclosed is the translation of the article "The Secret behind the death of Subhash Chandra Bose" by Prof. Raikov as also an epilogue written by V.K. Touradjev, published in the journal "Asia and Africa Today", Issue No. 8/93.

*Warm regards,*

Yours sincerely,

*A Malhotra*  
( Ajai Malhotra )

*Dr. S. Jaishankar*

Dr. S. Jaishankar,  
Director(EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi



THE SECRET BEHIND THE DEATH OF SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

By A. RAIKOV, D.Sc.(History)

On 18th of August 1945, four days after the Japanese Emperor had declared acceptance of the Postdam Declaration and of the fact of total capitulation, the Japanese twin engine fighter 97-11-Satti took off to Manchuria from Matsuyana airforce base in Taiwan. All twelve anti-craft machine guns were removed from this fighter plane as all military actions in this region were called off. The first pilot AOYAGI, who piloted this flight was assisted by Major Takizawa.

There were altogether 11 passengers on board including the Chief of Staff of the Burmese Army command Lt. General Sidei, eight more Japanese military officers and two Indian nationals.

As this flight was heavily loaded, it could take off with great difficulty from the run-way. Soon after the departure, the left propeller followed by the left wing engine fell apart and the craft took a steep tilt to right and crashed on the ground, despite desperate efforts by the pilots. Both pilot Takizawa and the General, who sat on the front seats died. The passengers remaining ( alive had to come out practically through the flames. Among them, there were two Indians - prominent leader of the Indian freedom movement, Subhash Chandra Bose and his aide Habibur Rehman. Bose received serious burns and facial wounds. His aide helped him to get out of the burning clothes and laid him at the grass.

Evidence of H. Rehman on this mishap has been published on a number of occasions in the Indian press and in other literature. Later, it was further elaborated by a Japanese journalist, Tatsuo Khayasita in his book, which carries a complete list of names and addresses of those who remained alive. Nevertheless, the fact of the crash continues to be a mystery for many people.

It may be said without any exaggeration that this tragedy has evoked great attention among wide circles of the Indian public. If because one of the undisclosed mysteries of the last days of the Second World War and turned to be the subject of considerable literature. Now, 48 years passed and this issue has retained not only its acuteness but also acquired increased relevance. In this connection, our country's name is increasingly mentioned. Nobody bothers about the fate of the Japanese General and officers. Researchers and politicians only focus



on the fate of this person - Subhash Chandra Bose. Let us examine all versions that are available on date.

22

#### CRASH IN MATSUYAMA

How could Subhash Chandra Bose - a contemporary of Jawaharlal Nehru and elected President of Indian National Congress in 1938 and, being the most popular leader in India, happen to be on board the plane ? He represented that majority faction of Indian nationalists, who argued for mustering support from the nation's hostility to the British. During the Second World War, he made a mistake by anticipating the victory of the fascist alliance and ran from India to Germany in 1941 and later managed to reach the East in a submarine. In Burma, he became the head of the puppet Government of "Free India" and commanded the so-called Indian National Army (INA) formed with the help of Japan, by recruiting Indian prisoners of war. Some divisions of this Army took part in the armed attack by the Japanese Army against the Indian town of Imphal.

With the Japanese defeat, Bose's position became weak and the British Court prepared a severe sentence on him for his alleged alliance with the enemy. At that point, according to versions of some researchers, Bose tried to seek asylum in the Soviet Union and expected to get support there for his patriotic activity. He could astutely foresee the cracks in relations among the anti-Hitler coalition and thought of taking advantage of it. The Japanese command in Burma offered him support in this and he left for Mukden from Singapore in order to establish contacts with the Soviets. The Matsuyama crash shattered this flight. Further developments were covered in Khayasidas book, who happened to be in Taibe.

Heavily wounded Bose, who fell unconscious, was removed to the hospital, where he died after eight in the evening despite intensive medical treatment including transfusion of blood, injections and sulphamide drugs. At the time of his demise, two Japanese doctors Iosimi and Tsuruta, Habibur Rehman, interpreter Nakamura, and a Chinese nurse were present. Nakamura recalled that immediately after the last breath of Bose, his aide Rahman bent on his knees and prayed for a few minutes with tear filled eyes. He tried to get the body of Bose transported either to Singapore or Japan. But the Japanese decided to cremate him immediately. The funeral ceremony took place on 22 August in the presence of Habibur Rahman, two Japanese officers and a Buddhist priest. The mortal remains of Bose were then brought to Tokyo by Habibu. Rahman, where a similar ceremony was held before keeping it in a Buddhist temple, Renkoji, six kilometres from the central part of Tokyo.



The first news about the demise of Bose was conveyed by Japanese Radio on 20 August and on 23 August, it was officially confirmed.

This tragic news really stunned the Indians and thousands of soldiers of the INA in Burma perceived the demise of Bose as their personal tragedy. In India itself, his compatriots, who had come to know a lot about Bose in Burma and Malaya through the media, and highly regarded him, were shocked by the news of his death. But, the atmosphere started changing quickly. The issue around the delayed information on the crash was raised for debate, though it was easy to explain the chaos and confusion which prevailed at that time in a country which fought a lost battle and awaited foreign occupation. It was widely believed that some secret had been hidden and it was felt that there was something behind the disappearance of Bose. Even, M.K. Gandhi stated : "I am deeply convinced that Subhash Babu ( in Bengali - Mr.) is alive".

#### PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

Indians were not the only ones who evinced interest in this incident. The British Government was concerned by the fact that thousands of Indians joined INA, the popularity of which was high as a fighter for freedom, and so decided to organise a show-down legal prosecution against the leadership of INA, primarily against Bose. An arrest warrant was signed and issued. Two special groups, consisting of officers from the Intelligence Service, led by Finn and Davis were appointed for investigation. The Davis group visited Saigon, from where the plane with Bose on board took off for Taibey. Later, it went to Taiwan. The Finn group made a series of inquiries in Bangkok. Both, Finn and Davis prepared reports on their investigations which were never published. But there is one very interesting fact which allows one to judge the results achieved : as a result, the arrest warrant on Bose was revoked. Obviously, one can suppose that convincing evidence of the death was received.

One more parallel investigation was conducted by the Director of Anglo-Indian Military Intelligence under General McArthur in Tokyo, which gave a similar report. One should not ignore a detailed documentary compilation "Jum'ing Tiger" by a Service Officer H. Toya, which covered the entire activity of Bose between 1941-1945. This book was released in London in 1959 and was highly evaluated by experts. H. Toy never questioned the death of Bose.



Soon, the Indian side also started its own investigation. The popularity of Bose in India and especially in Bengal shot up to its peak. Tens of books on him and on his INA were published - selective and collected works, speeches of Bose, memoirs by close contemporaries of Bose, collection of documents on the activity of "Free India" in Burma were published. In that atmosphere, a case against three detained officers of INA was lost and the British Court did not even dare to sentence them and therefore, released them.

The Indian public has virtually craved for confirmation of rumours that Bose was alive. Recently launched Indian agencies like "Free Press of India" and "News Service" have sent their correspondent Harin Shah to Taiwan, and for this visit, the founder of these agencies Sadanand could manage to get personal invitation from Chiang Kaishek. Two contemporaries of Bose - A.K.N. Nambiar, who was in Germany with him and A.K. Iyer - who was in Burma . travelled along with Harin Shah.

The Indians worked very thoroughly. They questioned a number of eye-witnesses and others, majority of whom were of Chinese nationality, witness to those events. They were, mostly workers of the hospital where Bose died, as well as officers of the Bureau of Health and Hygiene of Taipei.

Evidence was collected even from the Japanese witnesses who remained in Taiwan after its independence from Japanese occupation. Harin Shah photographed the most important witnesses as well as documents, for example, Bose's death registration certificate, the unearthed Tsian Pisha, a Chinese hospital sister, who told him the most disconcerting phrase in all his investigations : "He died here, I was by his side". Harin Shah wrote later that the sister's words put him and his fellow-men in a daze close to delirium. "we looked at her as if we were in a trance".

The Indians followed Bose's last journey from the hospital bed to the crematorium, while still searching for all those who accompanied him on this journey right down to the Chinese crematorium worker, Chu Tsung, who did do a cremation on the 22nd of August at 6 o'clock in the evening. Harin Shah examined the chamber, holy for every Indian which was used only once in 1945 as it was meant for tall, stalwart people, and Bose was definitely not one such man.

Invariably, all the witnesses questioned alluded to the fact that Bose and later his body was accompanied by a tall Indian with a bandaged arm and a cut on the face. That was Habibur Rehman. All the facts that Harin Shah received, linked up . He made a statement that "no contradictions had been uncovered as concerns the fate of Bose's body".



CONTRADICTORY FACTS

All the same, it is true that some contradictions are not all that substantial. For example, a disparity exists in naming the actual time of Bose's death. The hospital sister, Tsian Pisha stated that death occurred at 11 o'clock in the evening, T. Haisida - after 8 in the evening, H. Rahman - at 9 or 10 in the evening, the Taipei University Professor K.S. Bei - at 1.30 in the afternoon, and in the death certificate, preserved in the crematorium records, the time of death has been moved up to 4 o'clock in the afternoon of 19th August. More so, the cause of death has been named as heart-attack. Harin Shah did not fix his attention on these contradictions and remarked only that Bose's death certificate had been "carelessly drawn up".

Facts about Bose's last words also arouse interest. Habibur Rehman published Bose's last message to his fellow countrymen : "I have fought till the very end for India's freedom and now give up my life for this goal. My countrymen ! Carry on this struggle . Very soon India will be free. Long Live Free India ! " This is the very message that an eminent leader should give to his people.

But totally different words - "My Greetings to Commander Terauti" - are stated in the report of the 4th Division of the Asian Department of the Japanese Ministry of External Affairs, published in 1956 and wholly devoted to Bose's visit to South East Asia from 1943-45, with the purpose of making evident that Japan rendered him all possible assistance. "These were his last words" - says the document. And finally, according to the evidence of the hospital sister Tsian Pisha, his last words were the following : "A calm death. I die with peace."

When together with Harin Shah, one goes over his book, "Verdict from Formosa" and the last pages of the drama in Taipei open, it is impossible to believe that we are reading of someones devilish thoughts, the purpose of which was to cover one's tracks and hide the truth. Even the Japanese Matav Oabi whom Harin Shah not quite unexpectedly in the University Hospital, informed that his brother, a military police official, Masanori Nagaki, recounted to him the catastrophe at the aerodrome and of Bose's death, and that he was accompanied by another Indian with a wounded arm.

It is impossible not to mention one other supposition. If one were to assume that the catastrophe had not taken place and that a



secret agreement of some kind exists, which for some reason concerns the Japanese, then why should the Chinese personnel of the hospital and crematorium confirm the fact of Bose's death ? After all, when Harin Shah visited Taiwan, Taiwan was already free of Japanese power and the Chinese had no one to fear.

In 1947 an important meeting took place between Harin Shah and H. Rehman. As a result of a lengthy discussion that they had, Harin Shah came to the conclusion that his answers "totally confirmed all the facts, that had been collected by me from important witnesses in Formosa". In the end of 1948 or in the beginning of 1949, he met with Bose's brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, only to quickly start that whatever the fate may be, his feelings would never allow him to accept that his brother was dead. It is to be mentioned that Sarat Chandra Bose did not state any reasonable or logical arguments for justifying his stand and was only guided by emotions.

Harin Shah also met with the outstanding leader of the Indian National Congress, Vallabbhai Patel, who did not have the least doubt that Bose had died. However, Harin Shah's book on the investigations conducted by him could not be printed for the next 10 years and was published only in 1956. Not hiding his insulted feelings, Harin Shah wrote that though he was the only Indian to visit Taiwan immediately after the war and to collect convincing evidence on the circumstances surrounding Bose's death, a conspiracy of silence was organised around this issue. When after his investigations Harin Shah was preparing to leave Taiwan, he received a telegram from the head of the Sadanand Agency which well illustrates the attitude in India towards the news concerning Bose : "If you say that he is dead, then this is no news. If he is alive, then come back by any method, hire a plane".

In 1947, India gained Independence. In those happy, thrilling and at the same time very troubled years, the question of Bose's fate somewhat lost its intensity. From 1945 till 1950, no Indian appeared at the temple of Renkoji to honour the distinguished Indian leader. The modestly dressed Buddhist monk was the only caretaker of the urn of his ashes.

#### THE TREASURE SUITCASES

But soon after the proclamation of the Indian Republic, the situation began to change. In May 1950 the head of the Indian Diplomatic Mission in Japan, K.K. Chettiyar, paid the temple a visit, after which



Indians began to appear there regularly. And by the year 1955, on 18th August, the day of Bose's death, a memorial service was held there, which was attended by prominent Japanese personalities other than Indians. Also present were the widow of the Japanese premier Todzio and four generals.

It was then that there also began to surface some not so unimportant facts and details that had earlier not interested anyone. These concern, in particular, the issue of jewels, found in Bose's suitcases. It became known that two of them contained approximately 140 kg. each of gold jewellery - rings, bracelets, chains, necklaces, sacrifices made by the Indian population living in the Japanese occupied countries for the needs of the INA and Bose's leadership. Habibur Rehman stated that on the very next day after Bose's death, he had enquired of them from the Japanese officials. He was informed that the aircraft had burnt along with its cargo contents, but that some small amount of jewellery had been saved. Haisida wrote that all the involved personnel did everything to fulfill their duty, to collect and preserve all the valuables and now ( the book was published in 1964) they are "a contribution to Indo-Japanese friendship".

Actually, however, things look different. The jewels were collected with the help of a few tens of people, who covered the site of the catastrophe with sand, after which the gold and jewellery were put into a big jerry-can and sealed. But Habibur Rehman was handed over a wooden box with the valuables in addition to the broken seat. They weighed in all only 11 Kgs. and everything had been damaged by fire. Later, this box was kept under the care of the President of the League of Indian Independence, Murli, in Tokyo, who on 24 September 1951 handed it over to the Indian Mission in Tokyo, after which it was delivered to Delhi and placed in the State Museum.

It is interesting to note that Bose's gold cigarette case with diamonds, a present to him by Hitler, was preserved.

In spite of all the investigations and evidence from eye-witnesses, the belief that Bose had not died and that the story of the in-air catastrophe was cleverly fabricated, continued in India.

A new attempt to reach for the truth was undertaken. The Director of the Bureau of Information of the Government of Bombay State, S.A. Iyer, who in August 1945 himself saw Bose off at the Saigon airport and who later went to Tokyo, where he met H. Rehman in late May 1951, again set off for Japan so as to convince himself that the air crash in Taipei had really taken place. Apparently, the most important event for him were the meetings with the surviving aviation Colonel Nanogaki and Army Captain Arai. They confirmed the evidence collected by H. Rehman, already known to him.



On the 15th of September 1951, he was invited by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru for discussions, to whom he showed photographs and documents that he had collected and which had been signed by Japanese. "I don't have the least doubt that the ashes that are in the temple of Renkoji in Tokyo - are indeed the ashes of Netaji", - stated S.A. Iyer. A resume of his report to the Prime Minister was presented before the Indian Parliament.

However, as before, these evidences were not believed, and wide circles of Indian society demanded official investigations. The Government was compelled to yield and on 5th April 1956, a special committee to study the facts concerning the last period of Bose's life was constituted, "as public opinion demanded that all the facts be studied and then made public". Its composition was carefully prepared. First of all it included Subhash Chandra Bose's elder brother - Suresh Chandra Bose. The Committee also consisted of Shah Nawaz Khan, the INA Major General and the then Parliamentary Secretary for Transport and Railways. He literally worshipped Bose, as his memoirs published in 1946 make clear.

The third member of the Committee was S.N. Maitra, the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, that were occupied by Japanese troops and later "handed over" to Bose's leadership.

The Committee worked under difficult conditions, being subject to the strongest of pressures. It immediately met with conflicting evidences which did not at all help objective investigations. A member of the Legislative Assembly of Madras State, M. Thevar, made some sensational statements that he had recently made contact with Bose. However, the Parliamentarian refused to produce any documents or share any secrets with the members of the Committee. The Committee's attention was drawn to Bose's instructions, supposedly given by him to his comrades-in-arms, to go underground and be in contact with him on radio. Such attempts were indeed made in Bangkok in the 10 days after Bose's departure but without success.

The members of the Committee conducted laborious investigations in Delhi, Bangkok, Saigon and Tokyo, having interrogated 67 witnesses including four of the six surviving Japanese officers. In its report, the Committee stated that it did not receive any evidence directly confirming Bose's death.

From the photograph, printed after his death with his face covered, it was impossible to identify him, though H. Rehman (in the photograph, standing next to him) explained that Bose's face was very swollen and



was also disfigured by cuts and wounds. At that time, Rehman lived in Pakistan, but his testimony was received by the Committee.

The Committee could not visit Taiwan due to absence of diplomatic relations between India and the Kuomintang Government, but it took into account the findings of the investigation carried out by Harin Shah. The Committee noted that it had got testimonies on Bose's death from persons of different nationalities who had not been in touch with each other and therefore, any agreement between them was ruled out. Thus, there was no reason to doubt the fact. A report by the Committee emphasised that Bose's remains lay in the temple of Renkoji in Tokyo and should be shifted to India to erect a memorial over them at a proper venue.

#### ADVANTAGE THEME

However, not all members of the Committee agreed with those findings. Bose's brother Suresh refused to sign the report and submitted an alternative text casting doubts on the Committee's findings. In this connection that part of the report is noteworthy which sets forth considerations by the authors regarding those who do not believe in Bose's death. Such people can be divided into two groups. The first one comprises members of Bose's family who believe that he is alive, out of contact with any Indians and would appear in India when he finds it necessary. Bose's relatives are of the opinion that the Japanese Government helped him to go into hiding and, as for Rehman's testimonies, one should not attach any importance to them since he is bound by an oath. An official report by the Commissioner rejected this argument on the ground that Japanese testimonies are confirmed by representatives of other nations. Besides, if H. Rehman is bound by an oath, this is not the case with the Japanese, who simply have no reasons to lie. Let us add to this that under the conditions of the Cold War when Japan became a US ally and when antagonists used any facts for conducting a propagandistic war, it would have been very advantageous for Japan and the West to spread information that Bose had reached Mukdan, crossed the Soviet border and was apparently being kept in prison. That would have been a very advantageous theme, promising them a lot of benefits from varied points of view. There could have been individual Japanese eager to use the sensational material to further their own ends. However, nothing like that happened. The report stresses that the second group sticks to the opinion that Bose has been seen by some people, that from time to time he turns up in different places, for instance, in China. The



author of a brochure published in India argued that initially Bose had been a Russian prisoner, later - a General of the Chinese Army and subsequently a member of the Mongolian trade union delegation to China. Some people even stated that they have seen Bose among Nagas fighting against Indian troops.

In spite of the fact that the official committee of 1956 carried out a lot of work and collected numerous pieces of evidence on Bose's death, its report was considerably devalued by Bose's brother's refusal to sign the document, his rejection of the very thought of Bose's death and submitting of the text of his own findings. This circumstance only multiplied those who doubted the fact of Bose's death in 1945. The number of conjectures about his possible fate increased. The prevailing version was that Bose was in the Soviet Union. The Indian Government was repeatedly presented with demands that it should conduct another investigation. In December 1967, about 350 Indian MPs sent a memorandum to the Indian President insisting that explorations should be carried out in cooperation with the Governments of Japan and Taiwan. "Nothing but such an investigation would satisfy the public opinion and would dissipate the mystery of the Netaji", said the message. In June 1968, a prominent Indian historian Samar Guha stated at a press conference that "a new investigation of the Netaji's mystery is our national duty".

After a delay of two more years, the Indian Government was eventually induced to appoint by an ordinance of 11 July 1970 a commission consisting of one member - G.D. Khosla, a retired Judge who earlier headed the Supreme Court of Punjab. He was entrusted with the mission to "explore circumstances related to the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in 1945 and subsequent events". By that decision the Government itself questioned the findings of the 1956 Committee.

G.D. Khosla accomplished the mission. He published records of examination of all major witnesses who tried to prove that Bose had not died in a crash landing and indicated numerous contradictions in their testimonies. "We should reconcile ourselves to the fact of his death and seek consolation in the thought that he died ardently serving his motherland", he wrote in the report, maintaining further that it was time to abandon all doubts regarding the death of the outstanding politician.

#### A CLUE

As a result of the investigation yet another book was published in India. But the situation did not change in the least. From time to time



the Indian press published sensational reports of a most incredible character. A furor was created by the report that one Sadhu in Shaulmari Ashram, West Bengal was identified as Bose, the fact having been confirmed by many of his associates. A sudden disappearance of the Sadhu seemingly proved the correctness of the surmise. The report was especially intriguing as one Delhi taxi driver stated that he had seen Bose in that disguise. There were also testimonies that he had been seen in Rangoon dressed as a Burmese priest. An explanation as to why he was in hiding was also suggested : it was alleged that his personality sustained changes, he had lost his memory and was even unaware that the war was over.

But still the most popular was the version according to which Bose was staying in our country. The data available on that score might be divided into two groups. According to the first one, Bose was welcomed in Moscow as an honourable person. Somebody testified that on December 24, 1956 Bose had been received in the Kremlin. Others maintained that Bose had been seen in a Siberian camp. Former MP, Dr. Satya Narayan Sinha told G.D. Khosla that this had been conveyed to him by a certain Russian Officer Kuslov(Kislov?).

The fate of the Swedish diplomat Raul Vallenberg greatly stirred up interest for the latter version.

"Echo of the Planet" Magazine ( November 22, 1992) published a well-founded article by A. Vinogradov titled "Life and death of Netaji Bose" - the first one exploring this subject in our press. The article contains a number of facts which indicate that, after the Second World War, Bose seemed to stay in the Soviet Union. But since it adduces no indisputable document, the article unfortunately, can only add to the long list of Indian publications of the same kind. The author is supplemented with a remarkable editorial note which very cautiously says that "Moscow is quite well informed about the real state of things, more than this, the relevant document is available". Unfortunately, it is impossible to understand why precisely is meant by "the real state of things" and to what that document "relates. The reference made to "reliable sources" is astonishing too. In the epoch of openness we have got accustomed that our journalists do not conceal things they know.

The author of the article has at his disposal a single reliable document pertaining to the subject - a letter by the "Main Archives Department of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR which says that the archives of the Foreign Ministry contain no documents on contacts between Soviet diplomats and Bose.

However, there are many other archives in our country. Probably they contain a clue to the mystery of Subhash Chandra Bose.



NECESSARY EPILOGUE

By V. TOURADJEV

Probably, until recently only experts knew about Chandra Bose in our country, though he is quite an extraordinary figure. Bose is not only a prominent politician. He is a remarkable, but in many aspects also, a controversial personality, a man whose life and fate are wrapped up in a shroud of many legends and mysteries. One of the mysteries is connected with our country. Many in India and not only in India, are still confident that at the very end of the War, Netaji found himself in the Soviet Union, where his traces were lost.

The above article by A. Raikov who has been for a long time engaged in profound studies on India seems to give a well-grounded answer to this question. Indeed, serious scholars do not look for sensations and do not question the fact of Subhash Chandra Bose's death in August 1945. Documents and testimonies quoted by A. Raikov, convincingly proved this....

But stil..... still doubts remain.

Vinogradov's article published in "Echo of the Planet" says that Habibur Rehman who accompanied Bose in his last flight got off from the plane in Taiwan and thus became not a victim, but a witness to the crash landing. However, the facts quoted by A. Raikov are indicative of a different thing. Habibur Rehman was near Netaji when the bomber crashed, having lost its left engine, and both of them had to get out from under the debris through the flames. All those who were helping both Indians in those dramatic hours saw Habibur Rehman's bandaged hand and burnt face.

The discrepancy is very serious. If A. Vinogradov is right( and he leans on materials from the Indian press) then the version about Netaji's double or, at least, about a man who pretended to be Subhash Chandra Bose, is possible. Japanese officers who flew with him in the plane, as well as Chinese personnel of the airport and in Taipei Hospital where efforts were made to save Bose's life did not know him by face. Habibur Rehman knew him, but he got off the plane literally a few minutes before the crash landing. What was the reason for that ? The bomber was heavily overloaded. But there were other passengers in it and a lot of luggage. And how could Netaji who was accustomed to numerous servants and personal guards be left without his adjutant ? Did he plan to cross the Soviet border alone ?



In such a case can we assume that Bose was not in the plane which crashed in Taiwan on the 18th of August 1945. Could it be that the crash landing was pre-arranged and Rehman, knew about it and left the plane in time ? But which party so cunningly organised that ? Were they Bose's friends - the Germans ? But at that time fascist Germany was plunged into defeat and ruin and leaders of the Third Reich hid themselves as cockroaches in the cracks, committed suicide or were arrested and awaited trial. Were they Bose's patrons - the Japanese ? But Japan just before that announced its surrender and its Generals cared only about saving their skins. Does it follow that they were Russians ? But what on earth could be their reason ? True, there were also the British- sworn enemies of Netaji. As is known, they had issued a warrant to arrest him. But they wanted Bose himself and not his double. However, there is a variant under which it would be convenient for the British to deal precisely with his double. We will discuss that variant later.

Let us consider quite a simple question, dictated by common sense : What could be the reason for Bose's desire to go to the Soviet Union ? It is known that Moscow for many years demonstratively abstained from any contacts with him. ( Here also follows a natural question - Why ? ). And what could be the fate of the man who during the whole war had cooperated with fascists in the country which had first of all suffered from fascism ? Bose could admire "effectiveness and discipline" of the Nazis in the Thirties, but by the end of the War he already knew about extermination camps and gas chambers in Europe, about genocide of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelarussians, Jews, about sufferings and tortures of peoples, enslaved by the Swastika. Could Bose expect a warm welcome in the USSR ? Of course, he could not.

So, consequently he found himself in a Siberian camp", - again repeat those who stubbornly insist on "the Russian trace". Well, for God's sake, was Bose eager to get into a Soviet jail ". He, so to say, had an option, not necessarily in triumph. Probably, at first he would have had to stay there in hiding. But in India he was adored and worshipped. And could the warrant to arrest, issued by British authorities, prevent him ? No.

But there was another reason. And here we are approaching the main point which actually accounts for this note as a follow up of A. Raikov's article. The thing is that the editors of "Asia and Africa Today" got the



opportunity to acquaint themselves with material from the KGB archives which are in some way related to Subhash Chandra Bose. In our opinion, those documents induce one to take a new glance at the life and fate of the prominent figure of the Indian national liberation movement. We will discuss this subject in the next issue of the magazine.

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No. MOS/POL/303/2/93

29 October 1993

कति लक्ष्मण  
**MOST IMMEDIATE**

*My dear Tai,*

In continuation of my telex of date, enclosed is the translation of the article "The Secret behind the death of Subhash Chandra Bose" by Prof. Raikov as also an epilogue written by V.K. Touradjev, published in the journal "Asia and Africa Today", Issue No. 8/93.

*Warm regards,*

Yours sincerely,

*Ajai Malhotra*  
( Ajai Malhotra )

Dr. S. Jaishankar,  
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November 19, 1993.

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My dear *Jai,*

Issue No. 9/93 of the monthly journal 'Asia and Africa Today' appeared on the stands at the start of this week. It carries the second article on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose published recently by that journal. An English translation of the article is enclosed. The article bears out the comments of my note enclosed with Ambassador's letter No.MOS/AMB/853/93 of 2 July 1993. The concluding article, which may prove to be the most interesting one, would be carried in the next issue (10/93) of the journal and would be translated and sent to you once it is published.

*Warm regards,*

Yours sincerely,

*Ajai Malhotra*  
( Ajai Malhotra )

Dr. S. Jaishanker,  
Director (EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
NEW DELHI.

Encls : As above.



"Asia and Arica Today" (Number 9, 1993)

"Whom Subhash Chandra Bose fought against during Second World War years"

By V. Touradjev

"In the epilogue to A. Raikov's article "Mystery of Subhash Chandra Bose's death" published in the previous issue of the magazine we informed our readers that we had got an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with materials from the KGB archives in some way connected with life and activities of that leader of the Indian national liberation struggle, an associate of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Referring for assistance to the Intelligence Service of Russia we wanted to find out whether at the very end of World War II Bose had really found himself in the Soviet Union and what had happened to him. Rumours that he did not die in the air crash in Taiwan and did manage to get to Moscow, that he was noticed in Siberian camps are actively circulating not only abroad but also here, in the country of victorious Glasnost (openness) and democracy.

Last year Subhash Chandra Bose was awarded the Bharat Ratna - the highest award of India, and in this connection arguments regarding his fate flared up with new force.

So what really happened to Bose? Do the KGB archives contain an answer to this question?

Documents which became available to the editors are very interesting, though they do not contain messages by fearless KGB men who would have reported as to how they had unscrewed nuts from an engine resulting in the crash of the airplane with Bose on board. Neither do they contain reports from Siberian camps which could have given rise to conjectures that Bose spent his last days right there. However, there is something in the materials from the KGB archives which would astonish not only Bose's Indian admirers. I realise the power of the information bomb which will explode on the pages of the magazine. For a long time I meticulously studied the documents received. They are old, the contained information



is chaotic. But nevertheless only one conclusion can be made on their basis. For this we shall have to refer to the events which occurred over half a century ago, at the very beginning of 1941.

With a forged passport

By that time Bose finally fell out with M.K. Gandhi and J. Nehru and established his own party - the Forward Bloc. He continued with his extremely radical position against British colonial rule and stood up for an independent and socialist India. He was telling friends that his intention was to move to the USSR and with Moscow's help to develop an active struggle for the liberation of the passionately loved motherland. England was his enemy number one. In turn the British perceived him as a dangerous rebel. They repeatedly jailed him, and late in 1940 he was again arrested. Court proceedings against him were to start on the 27th January, 1941. But the trial did not take place either in January or later. Bose escaped. The circumstances of his escape are not known.

But there is information about his subsequent movements. Early in 1941 he turned up in Kabul together with Bhagat Ram, an activist of the left party Kirti Kisan which was close to the communists. Very soon they established contact with the German and Italian Embassies and in short time telegrams flew to Berlin and Rome reporting that the leader of the Forward Bloc party, Subhash Chandra Bose, sought German patronage, requested to take him across to Germany and offered his services for a joint struggle against the British.

Circumstances of Bose's advent in Afghanistan and steps he took there are extremely important for understanding further events, so we are narrating them in details.

Thus, Bose arrived in Afghanistan and referred for help to the Germans and not to the Russians, and requested them to take him to Berlin and not to Moscow. Some sources, including Bhagat Ram, maintain that it was practically impossible to get in touch with the Soviet Embassy, whereas it was no problem for the Afghans, and consequently for the Indians to get access to the Germans. This is true. But in Kabul Bhagat Ram had a friend and reliable associate in the person of Uttam Chan, an owner of a small shop. Bhagat Ram owned a flat attached to that shop which



traded in gramophones and records of a famous British firm "His Master's Voice". Therefore, Uttam Chang knew a path to the Russians, but for some reason did not propose to Bose to use it. One may surmise that Bose anyway did not want to.

While giving evidence to an investigator in the Butyrskaya prison on January 20, 1946, Gans Pilger, the German Ambassador to Afghanistan, stated (quote from a rough copy of the record of evidence): "On arriving in Kabul Bose immediately approached me and subsequently Kuaroni (the Italian Ambassador), having stated that he is the leader of an Indian political party and that his party wages struggle in India against the British. Bose requested us to help him in emigrating from Kabul to Germany. I enquired from the German Foreign Ministry about that question, and they suggested that I should help Bose to leave for Berlin."

The Germans sought cooperation of the Soviet Embassy. Nowadays this seems strange and even improbable, but let us recall that in 1939 Moscow and Berlin signed two agreements which announced "friendliness" in Soviet-German relationship. However, that did not prevent them from being on the alert about each other. The appeal by German "friends" did not surprise Moscow. By that time Lubyanka (the KGB) had already got a message by its agent about "a certain Hindu who escaped from India to Afghanistan and found shelter with "brewers". The Hindu was Bose, and as "brewers" KGB men designated German Secret Service men.

"Brewers" wanted to airlift Bose to Berlin by a Soviet plane. That was Pilger's request at his meeting with our Ambassador. He also promised that Italian instructors who worked at the Kabul airport would be able to place the Indian on board, in secret from Afghan personnel. But the Soviet side categorically opposed the plan. "Brewers" had to provide Bose with a forged passport in the name of Italian engineer Orlando Mazzotti, since the Italian allies were in the know of the story. Fearing that British agents might have the Indian revolutionary shadowed, the Germans requested issuing of a Soviet entrance visa to Bose in his absence. For this purpose our Embassy was specially visited by Pilger's assistant, Head of Chancery of the German Embassy, Schmidt. On March 15, visa N 064033 was stamped in the passport of Italian subject O. Mazzotti which allowed him transit through the Soviet Union without the right to halt. The instructions regarding issue of the visa was given personally by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs A.Y. Vyshinsky.



After three days, Bose accompanied by a staffer of the German Embassy, Wenger, left Kabul by car and on March 22, crossed the Afghan-Soviet border in the area of the Termez-Zaremba border control post. After that via Bukhara and Samarkand he set out by train for Moscow and further - for Berlin.

During all that time neither the British nor the Indian press carried a single line about Bose. Half a year passed, and only then he suddenly became the topic of the day. It was indeed sudden as if somebody had given the command to start it. The row was incredible. Newspapers were headlined "Mysterious disappearance of Bose", "Bose mysteriously vanished", "Where is Subhash Chandra Bose?" etc. State officials, diplomats, journalists were racking their brains as to what could have happened to the Forward Bloc leader, how he had managed to escape and where he had been hiding himself. At last, on November 10, in Delhi while speaking to members of the State Council, Minister of Home Affairs Conrad Smith made a statement:

"Since recently it has become known that Subhash Chandra Bose is either in Rome or Berlin in order to support the German invasion of India by the method of the "fifth column". Leaflets have emerged in the country which leave no doubt that he has sided with the enemy."

An analogous statement was made in London at the House of Commons by the British Minister for Indian and Burmese Affairs. Officials stated that they did not have any information as to how Bose had managed to escape from the colonial authorities.

The "Times of India" put forward its own version. In its issue of 12 November, 1941 it published an article which hazarded a conjecture that Bose had managed to leave India by a Japanese ship and subsequently, via Soviet territory, reached Italy or Germany.

The British Ambassador to Kabul having visited the Soviet Ambassador under some formal pretext, questioned him during the conversation as to whether he knew anything about Bose and whether the latter had been issued a visa for travel to Germany. The Englishman was of the opinion that Bose could have reached Berlin only via the Soviet Union or Iran. It was



stated to the British diplomat that the Soviet Embassy in Kabul did not possess any information about Bose, had had no contact with him and had never issued a visa to a person having that name. Formally that was true, for the visa had been received by Italian engineer Orlando Mazzotti.

My enemy's enemy is my friend

Thus, Bose found himself in Berlin where he launched an active anti-British campaign. Speaking on the radio, he wrathfully stigmatised British colonialism and urged the Indians to side with the "Axis countries" (Germany, Italy, Japan). He emotionally maintained that the military defeat of Great Britain would entail liberation of India from centuries-old humiliation and slavery. He started to organise his Indian followers into a new military political organisation - The Indian National Revolutionary Committee - which was assigned the task of forming combat groups under conditions of profound secrecy and of starting large-scale subversive operations against the British.

Bose persuaded the Germans to make the Italians transfer to him Indian soldiers captured in Africa. Those soldiers were proposed to constitute a core of "Azad Hind Fauj" which, as conceived by the Netaji, would triumphantly enter the motherland under the national green-white-orange banner. The organisation "Free India" which he had set up in Berlin, practically performed in the eyes of its patrons the functions of "the Indian Government in exile" waiting for an opportunity to formally obtain this status and to receive international recognition.

Bhagat Ram, Bose's friend and kindred spirit who had helped him to escape to Afghanistan, was the main, if not the sole channel of Bose's contacts with his followers in India. This personality is very interesting and worth examining closely.

Having sent Bose to the Soviet Union, Ram shortly started to work ....for the Italians. On their instructions he made several trips to India and provided them with required information. The Italians were extremely happy. Intelligence data supplied by Bhagat Ram became a regular feature of reports by the Italian secret service in Kabul.



However, German intelligence service were also alert about him, for they, naturally, had the detailed information about the valuable agent Kwaroni had managed to obtain. "Brewers" believed (it was actually suggested to them by Bose himself) that Bhagat Ram could become a connecting link between the Berlin Headquarters of the Netaji and his followers in India who were really regarded by the Nazis as the "fifth column".

Meanwhile the Germans were thoroughly preparing for the invasion of the British colony. They well-groundedly considered that loss of "the Indian Pearl" would deliver a devastating blow to the British Empire.

Directive N 32 by the German General Headquarters, dated 11 June 1941 envisaged "continuation of the struggle against British positions in the Mediterranean Sea and in the Middle East by concentric offence which is proposed to be launched from Libya through Egypt, from Bulgaria through Turkey, and also, depending on the situation, towards the Trans-Caucasian region through Iran." The objective of that offence was to annex Iran, Trans-Jordan, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, South Arabia."

Through Afghanistan, the Nazis planned to reach India, lay their hands on Indonesia, New Guinea, Borneo, Malaya, Singapore, the Islands of Oceania.

That is why the Germans developed such active espionage and subversive activities in Afghanistan. Afghanistan was a springboard for their jump towards the East, and they set great hopes on Bhagat Ram. He was no stranger in the area of the Pushtoon tribes and had many friends in Afghanistan. Like Subhash Chandra Bose he did not conceal his anti-British views, announced his willingness to pay any price for achieving the main goal of his life - liberation of India from colonial oppression. Such a man could not but become an object of "brewers'" attention, who at first were embarrassed only by the fact that he had contacted them on his own while helping Bose to shift to Berlin. The Germans badly needed Indian sources of information, reliable agents, arms depots, secret addresses. Having considered Bose and having checked him through their channels, they shortly offered him cooperation in the struggle against the common enemy - the British. Ram did not hesitate for long. In the long run the Oriental adage proclaims: "My enemy's enemy is my friend". Besides in Berlin Bose was also vigorously developing work. Contacts with him could be exercised only through the Germans - Ram gave his consent. Having received a conspiratorial name of Rahmat Khan, Bhagat Ram became a secret agent of the German military intelligence in India. This happened in May 1941.



Favoured by Fuehrer

The above-mentioned examination records made at the Butyrskaya prison in Moscow in 1945-46 are sufficiently indicative of the importance to the Germans of the "Subhash Chandra Bose-Bhagat Ram "linkage". But now I quote by Zugenbiller, a cypher officer of the German military intelligence, posted in Kabul under cover of the German trade representation. He said: "The German Government and intelligence bodies considered that the priority in activities of the German intelligence service in Afghanistan consisted in deepening work with Bose and Rahmat Khan." What was the concrete manifestation of this? Zygenbiller clarifies: "Rahmat Khan was assigned the task of highlighting the political situation inside India on the basis of materials provided by the underground organisation which had been set up by Bose, gaining intelligence information about British military efforts in India, and of conveying instructions on subversive activities against the British in India to Bose's organisation. For these purposes we gave to Rahmat Khan considerable amounts of money and two wireless sets. Materials handed to us by Rahmat Khan were highly appreciated in Berlin. The German Embassy in Kabul did not have any other channel of connection with Bose's followers in India.

By the beginning of 1942, the Germans started practical preparations for invading India. In February, Bhagat Ram was instructed to prepare and equip with all requisites the subversive groups which would be assigned first and foremost to disorganise work of ports along the whole sea coast of India, to arrange landing grounds for Japanese and German marines, to construct runways for aircraft of the German Air Force, to paralyze by acts of sabotage the defensive efforts of the British and to prepare the population for a rebellion against British rule.

In his next instruction letter from Berlin, Subhash Chandra Bose ordered:

1. Followers of Bhagat Ram are charged to send their representatives to areas contiguous with Afghanistan in order to persuade the tribes to rebel against the British authorities. The representatives should pledge to tribal chiefs to provide them with military equipment and to state that the programme of Free India envisages economic help to tribal population, their protection from enemy attacks and that nobody would encroach on



the independence and freedom of the tribes. The representatives should be authorised to make agreements with individual tribes.

Bose requested to be kept informed about the results of the negotiations with the tribes and to specifically indicate those tribes with whom agreements on joint action against the British authorities were proposed to be concluded.

2. To arrange a meeting with "Jamiat-al-Ulema" leaders, to convey to them Rashid al-Gilani's and the Mufti of Jerusalem's greetings, and to state that the time has come to stand up for the defence of Islam and the motherland, since, probably, there would be no other movement which might be so convenient for launching a struggle to liberate India from the British yoke. To ensure success of this struggle it is necessary to act jointly with Bose's followers.
3. To check the audibility of the two short-wave broadcasting stations stationed in Germany (in Berlin). Those stations were to create the impression as if they had made broadcasts from Indian territory.
4. To establish the location of the Germans who had been arrested in India and, according to Bose's information, had managed to escape, to get in touch with them and to enlist their cooperation in activities against the British authorities.

This letter, which also contains a long list of other instructions to Bhagat Ram, furnishes an idea of the large-scale subversive operations launched by Bose from Berlin. The Germans were undoubtedly very happy about this support on the part of Indians. Netaji was much favoured by hitlerites, the Fuehrer himself presented him with a golden cigarette-case decorated with diamonds. Bhagat Ram was also the object of attention. At a regular meeting with Bhagat Ram, Rasmus, a fixed-post German spy in Kabul, solemnly presented him with a German award. "Fuehrer is informed about you", confidentially said Rasmus to Bhagat Ram.

One can imagine the German fury should have they learnt that the greatly important subversive and intelligence work which had been carried through "Subhash Chandra Bose-Bhagat Ram" linkage had cost them so much efforts, material and financial means existed only on paper. The thing



is that since middle of 1941 Bhagat Ram had been cooperating with the Soviet intelligence and simultaneously had been a highly secret agent of the British Intelligence Service. And all detailed reports of Rahmat Khan on political developments inside India, on the system of British defensive facilities in that country, on construction of secret airfields for landing of German aircraft, on preparation of terrorist groups, on the - promoted by him and by other followers of Bose - determination of the Indian masses to rise in national rebellion against the British rule as soon as the Germans appear in the Himalayan foothills - all those reports by the "extremely valuable agent of the German military intelligence" were, to put it bluntly, a sheer fraud, a fake, which secret services designate as "misinformation".

Bhagat Ram would receive Bose's instructions from Berlin (through Germans) and from Rasmus in Kabul, would leave for India through the zone of independent tribes, on having been lavishly supplied with directions, gold, money and espionage equipment, and then would return with reports on "accomplished work", prepared by Indian communists on the instructions of Moscow and by experts from MI-6, the British Intelligence. Since April 1942 the British had operated against German secret agents in Afghanistan in close cooperation with the Soviet intelligence.

Here, for example, is a letter sent by Colonel G.A. Hill, SIS representative in Moscow to his Russian colleague Colonel Osipov:

Most Secret

Moscow, 11th December, 1943.

Re: Bhagat Ram.

As you are aware, the Government of India has granted a safe-conduct to both Rasmus and Witzel of the German Embassy in Kabul who have been recalled by their Government to Germany. While their travelling arrangements will be subject to considerable delay, the disappearance of Witzel and Rasmus from Kabul scene has essentially altered the situation. The Government of India are by no means confident that Pilger will be able to handle Bhagat Ram without risk to the latter's safety.

.....10/-



Therefore the Government of India advise against sending Bhagat Ram back at present. Subject to approval by your Departments concerned, India proposes to send an interim report by a special messenger which will reply to questions asked by Chandra Bose. The report will also include an assessment of the situation which is necessary to correct any impressions which may have been created in Berlin by the joint efforts of Witzel and Bhagat Ram to the effect that the Central Committee is prepared to bring about a general revolt in India in the near future.

I further beg to inform you that the Departments concerned in India have despatched a very long report dealing with various aspects of the Bhagat Ram affair. It is hoped that this report would reach Moscow about the 26th/30th of December when it will be immediately transmitted to you on receipt."

I would not go into details of this document. I shall only clarify that Witzel who is mentioned in the letter was also a staffer of the German Intelligence looking after Bhagat Ram.

#### Servant of four bosses

Bhagat Ram established contacts with Russian agents in Kabul seven months after he and Bose had knocked at the door of the German Embassy. During that time Bose had successfully reached Berlin and Bhagat Ram on the instructions of the Italian and German intelligence services had made a number of trips to India. But the main event occurred on the 22nd of June, 1941. That day Germany attacked the Soviet Union - the circumstances which, according to subsequent confessions of Bhagat Ram, actually compelled him to persistently search for contact with the Russians.

At first with the Chief of Russian agents in Kabul he told that he himself and his party Kisan Kirti, an advocate of communist ideology, were struggling against the British for a free and independent India. He informed that his elder brother, Ramhari Kishan, motivated by hatred towards the British had committed a terrorist act by assassinating the Government General of Punjab. For that he was hanged. His two other brothers - Janna Rass and Isher Rass were persecuted by the colonial administration for revolutionary activities. However, today, proceeded Bhagat Ram with his story, fascist Germany became the main enemy of India and of the whole



progressive humanity. The mortal danger impending over the Soviet Union was also the mortal danger for India, since only the Soviet Union was able to help her in gaining independence. And Bhagat Ram offered his services to the Soviets, having informed that he enjoyed full confidence of the Germans and Italians. Thus he became a Soviet agent under the conspiratorial name of Ram.

Following several months Bhagat Ram made a request to the Chief of Soviet agents in Kabul that the Russians should inform the British about his secret services in favour of the USSR. He explained his request by stating that now it was very difficult to conduct underground activities in India and even more difficult to prepare information for the Germans which would look reliable, but at the same time would not cause any damage to the anti-Hitler coalition. The Russian side agreed to the proposal and thus Bhagat Ram became a servant of four bosses - the Italians, the Germans, the Russians and the British. Which of them was he loyal to and who was deceived by him? Undoubtedly, he deceived the Germans and the Italians. But what his game was in the case of the Russians and the British is a very complicated question, and in order to get a reply it is necessary to carry out meticulous research of the documents from intelligence archives of a minimum of five states - Italy, Germany, USSR, Great Britain and India.

However, we are interested not in Bhagat Ram, but in Subhash Chandra Bose. What on earth could take place? All his flaming passion of an Indian patriot, all his vibrant energy of an ardent revolutionary that Bose put into a dangerous, uncompromising fight with British oppressors. That was the main goal of his life. And when the World War started, he sided with Germany, Italy and Japan. He resolutely staked on the military defeat of the British. To see the freedom of his motherland he allied himself with fascists, believing that for the sake of a sacred cause one might make an alliance with the Devil himself, provided the Devil was willing to rout his enemies. From Berlin, the lair of Fascism, he conducted not only propagandistic and ideological war, but also armed struggle against the damned British. He conducted it leaning on Bhagat Ram who was the only agent through whom he was able to effectively and actively guide his supporters in India. And meanwhile his loyal and reliable assistant would handover Bose's messages to those damned British and would send to him in Berlin faked reports alleging that all India would be eager to receive her German and Japanese liberators



with outstretched arms. This means an entire failure of Bose's ambitions, of the titanic efforts by the Netaji and fascist secret services in the fight for India.

Thus Bhagat Ram betrayed Bose, betrayed his cause. Did he? Don't be hasty with conclusions. Staying in Berlin and subsequently - in Singapore and Tokyo, Bose conducted a struggle not against Great Britain. He fought against Germany and Japan.

(To be continued)

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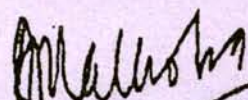
✓ Director(EE) from Ajai Malhotra, Counsellor(Information)

Refyr telex of 26 November. Faxed below is Raikov's first article published in "Asia and Africa Today".

JS/EE may please.  
The second part has  
been submitted to him.

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JS/EE n.

  
( Ajai Malhotra )  
Counsellor (Inf.)  
30.11.1993





Ajai Malhotra  
Counsellor (Information)

No. MOS/POL/303/2/93

MOST IMMEDIATE  
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4-B Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW

Telephone No. 297-05-20  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU

29 October 1993

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My dear Tai,

In continuation of my telex of date, enclosed is the translation of the article "The Secret behind the death of Subhash Chandra Bose" by Prof. Raikov as also an epilogue written by V.K. Touradjav, published in the journal "Asia and Africa Today", Issue No. 8/93.

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

*Ajai Malhotra*  
( Ajai Malhotra )

Dr. S. Jaishankar,  
Director (EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi

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on the fate of this person - Subhash Chandra Bose. Let us examine all versions that are available on date.

#### CRASH IN MATSUYAMA

How could Subhash Chandra Bose - a contemporary of Jawaharlal Nehru and elected President of Indian National Congress in 1938 and, being the most popular leader in India, happen to be on board the plane? He represented that majority faction of Indian nationalists, who argued for mustering support from the nation's hostility, the British. During the Second World War, he made a mistake by anticipating the victory of the fascist alliance and ran from India to Germany in 1941 and later managed to reach the East in a submarine. In Burma, he became the head of the puppet Government of "Free India" and commanded the so-called Indian National Army (INA) formed with the help of Japan, by recruiting Indian prisoners of war. Some divisions of this Army took part in the armed attack by the Japanese Army against the Indian town of Imphal.

With the Japanese defeat, Bose's position became weak and the British Court prepared a severe sentence on him for his alleged alliance with the enemy. At that point, according to versions of some researchers, Bose tried to seek asylum in the Soviet Union and expected to get support there for his patriotic activity. He could astutely foresee the cracks in relations among the anti-Hitler coalition and thought of taking advantage of it. The Japanese command in Burma offered him support in this and he left for Mukden from Singapore in order to establish contacts with the Soviets. The Matsuyama crash shattered this flight. Further developments were covered in Khayesidas book, who happened to be in Taibe.

Heavily wounded Bose, who fell unconscious, was removed to the hospital, where he died after eight in the evening despite intensive medical treatment including transfusion of blood, injections and sulphamide drugs. At the time of his demise, two Japanese doctors Iosimi and Tsuruta, Habibur Rehman, interpreter Nakamura, and a Chinese nurse were present. Nakamura recalled that immediately after the last breath of Bose, his aide Rahman bent on his knees and prayed for a few minutes with tear filled eyes. He tried to get the body of Bose transported either to Singapore or Japan. But the Japanese decided to cremate him immediately. The funeral ceremony took place on 22 August in the presence of Habibur Rahman, two Japanese officers and a Buddhist priest. The mortal remains of Bose were then brought to Tokyo by Habibu. Rahman, where a similar ceremony was held before keeping it in a Buddhist temple, Renkoji, six kilometres from the central part of Tokyo.



THE SECRET BEHIND THE DEATH OF SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE

By A. RAIKOV, D.Sc. (History)

On 18th of August 1945, four days after the Japanese Emperor had declared acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration and of the fact of total capitulation, the Japanese twin engine fighter 97-11-Sattl took off to Manchuria from Matsuyama airforce base in Taiwan. All twelve anti-craft machine guns were removed from this fighter plane as all military actions in this region were called off. The first pilot AOYAGI, who piloted this flight was assisted by Major Takizawa.

There were altogether 11 passengers on board including the Chief of Staff of the Burmese Army command Lt. General Sidel, eight more Japanese military officers and two Indian nationals.

As this flight was heavily loaded, it could take off with great difficulty from the run-way. Soon after the departure, the left propeller followed by the left wing engine fell apart and the craft took a steep tilt to right and crashed on the ground, despite desperate efforts by the pilots. Both pilot Takizawa and the General, who sat on the front seats died. The passengers remaining alive had to come out practically through the flames. Among them, there were two Indians - prominent leader of the Indian freedom movement, Subhash Chandra Bose and his aide Habibur Rehman. Bose received serious burns and facial wounds. His aide helped him to get out of the burning clothes and laid him at the grass.

Evidence of H. Rehman on this mishap has been published on a number of occasions in the Indian press and in other literature. Later, it was further elaborated by a Japanese journalist, Tatsuo Khayasita in his book, which carries a complete list of names and addresses of those who remained alive. Nevertheless, the fact of the crash continues to be a mystery for many people.

It may be said without any exaggeration that this tragedy has evoked great attention among wide circles of the Indian public. If because one of the undisclosed mysteries of the last days of the Second World War and turned to be the subject of considerable literature. Now, 48 years passed and this issue has retained not only its acuteness but also acquired increased relevance. In this connection, our country's name is increasingly mentioned. Nobody bothers about the fate of the Japanese General and officers. Researchers and politicians only focus



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The first news about the demise of Bose was conveyed by Japanese Radio on 20 August and on 23 August, it was officially confirmed.

This tragic news really stunned the Indians and thousands of soldiers of the INA in Burma perceived the demise of Bose as their personal tragedy. In India itself, his compatriots, who had come to know a lot about Bose in Burma and Malaya through the media, and highly regarded him, were shocked by the news of his death. But, the atmosphere started changing quickly. The issue around the delayed information on the crash was raised for debate, though it was easy to explain the chaos and confusion which prevailed at that time in a country which fought a lost battle and awaited foreign occupation. It was widely believed that some secret had been hidden and it was felt that there was something behind the disappearance of Bose. Even, M.K. Gandhi stated: "I am deeply convinced that Subhash Babu (in Bengali - Mr.) is alive".

#### PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

Indians were not the only ones who evinced interest in this incident. The British Government was concerned by the fact that thousands of Indians joined INA, the popularity of which was high as a fighter for freedom, and so decided to organise a show-down legal prosecution against the leadership of INA, primarily against Bose. An arrest warrant was signed and issued. Two special groups, consisting of officers from the Intelligence Service, led by Finn and Davis were appointed for investigation. The Davis group visited Saigon, from where the plane with Bose on board took off for Taibey. Later, it went to Taiwan. The Finn group made a series of inquiries in Bangkok. Both, Finn and Davis prepared reports on their investigations which were never published. But there is one very interesting fact which allows one to judge the results achieved: as a result, the arrest warrant on Bose was revoked. Obviously, one can suppose that convincing evidence of the death was received.

One more parallel investigation was conducted by the Director of Anglo-Indian Military Intelligence under General McArthur in Tokyo, which gave a similar report. One should not ignore a detailed documentary compilation "Jumping Tiger" by a Service Officer H. Toya, which covered the entire activity of Bose between 1941-1945. This book was released in London in 1959 and was highly evaluated by experts. H. Toya never questioned the death of Bose.

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Soon, the Indian side also started its own investigation. The popularity of Bose in India and especially in Bengal shot up to its peak. Tens of books on him and on his INA were published - selective and collected works, speeches of Bose, memoirs by close contemporaries of Bose, collection of documents on the activity of "Free India" in Burma were published. In that atmosphere, a case against three detained officers of INA was lost and the British Court did not even dare to sentence them and therefore, released them.

The Indian public has virtually craved for confirmation of rumours that Bose was alive. Recently launched Indian agencies like "Free Press of India" and "News Service" have sent their correspondent Harin Shah to Taiwan, and for this visit, the founder of these agencies Sadanand could manage to get personal invitation from Chiang Kaishek. Two contemporaries of Bose - A.K.N. Nambiar, who was in Germany with him and A.K. Iyer - who was in Burma travelled along with Harin Shah.

The Indians worked very thoroughly. They questioned a number of eye-witnesses and others, majority of whom were of Chinese nationality, witness to those events. They were, mostly workers of the hospital where Bose died, as well as officers of the Bureau of Health and Hygiene of Taipei.

Evidence was collected even from the Japanese witnesses who remained in Taiwan after its independence from Japanese occupation. Harin Shah photographed the most important witnesses as well as documents, for example, Bose's death registration certificate, the unearthed Tsian Pisha, a Chinese hospital sister, who told him the most disconcerting phrase in all his investigations: "He died here, I was by his side". Harin Shah wrote later that the sister's words put him and his fellow-men in a daze close to delirium. "we looked at her as if we were in a trance".

The Indians followed Bose's last journey from the hospital bed to the crematorium, while still searching for all those who accompanied him on this journey right down to the Chinese crematorium worker, Chu Taung, who did do a cremation on the 22nd of August at 6 o'clock in the evening. Harin Shah examined the chamber, holy for every Indian which was used only once in 1945 as it was meant for tall, stalwart people, and Bose was definitely not one such man.

Invariably, all the witnesses questioned alluded to the fact that Bose and later his body was accompanied by a tall Indian with a bandaged arm and a cut on the face. That was Habibur Rehman. All the facts that Harin Shah received, linked up. He made a statement that "no contradictions had been uncovered as concerns the fate of Bose's body".

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All the same, it is true that some contradictions are not all that substantial. For example, a disparity exists in naming the actual time of Bose's death. The hospital sister, Tsian Pisha stated that death occurred at 11 o'clock in the evening, T. Haisida - after 8 in the evening, H. Rahman - at 9 or 10 in the evening, the Taipei University Professor K.S. Bei - at 1.30 in the afternoon, and in the death certificate, preserved in the crematorium records, the time of death has been moved up to 4 o'clock in the afternoon of 19th August. More so, the cause of death has been named as heart-attack. Harin Shah did not fix his attention on these contradictions and remarked only that Bose's death certificate had been "carelessly drawn up".

Facts about Bose's last words also arouse interest. Habibur Rahman published Bose's last message to his fellow countrymen: "I have fought till the very end for India's freedom and now give up my life for this goal. My countrymen! Carry on this struggle. Very soon India will be free. Long Live Free India!" This is the very message that an eminent leader should give to his people.

But totally different words - "My Greetings to Commander Terauti" - are stated in the report of the 4th Division of the Asian Department of the Japanese Ministry of External Affairs, published in 1956 and wholly devoted to Bose's visit to South East Asia from 1943-45, with the purpose of making evident that Japan rendered him all possible assistance. "These were his last words" - says the document. And finally, according to the evidence of the hospital sister Tsian Pisha, his last words were the following: "A calm death. I die with peace."

When together with Harin Shah, one goes over his book, "Verdict from Formosa" and the last pages of the drama in Taipei open, it is impossible to believe that we are reading of someone's devilish thoughts, the purpose of which was to cover one's tracks and hide the truth. Even the Japanese Matsui Oabi whom Harin Shah met quite unexpectedly in the University Hospital, informed that his brother, a military police official, Masanori Nagaki, recounted to him the catastrophe at the aerodrome and of Bose's death, and that he was accompanied by another Indian with a wounded arm.

It is impossible not to mention one other supposition. If one were to assume that the catastrophe had not taken place and that a



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secret agreement of some kind exists, which for some reason concerns the Japanese, then why should the Chinese personnel of the hospital and crematorium confirm the fact of Bose's death? After all, when Harin Shah visited Taiwan, Taiwan was already free of Japanese power and the Chinese had no one to fear.

In 1947 an important meeting took place between Harin Shah and H. Rehman. As a result of a lengthy discussion that they had, Harin Shah came to the conclusion that his answers "totally confirmed all the facts, that had been collected by me from important witnesses in Formosa". In the end of 1948 or in the beginning of 1949, he met with Bose's brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, only to quickly start that whatever the fate may be, his feelings would never allow him to accept that his brother was dead. It is to be mentioned that Sarat Chandra Bose did not state any reasonable or logical arguments for justifying his stand and was only guided by emotions.

Harin Shah also met with the outstanding leader of the Indian National Congress, Vallabhbhai Patel, who did not have the least doubt that Bose had died. However, Harin Shah's book on the investigations conducted by him could not be printed for the next 10 years and was published only in 1956. Not hiding his insulted feelings, Harin Shah wrote that though he was the only Indian to visit Taiwan immediately after the war and to collect convincing evidence on the circumstances surrounding Bose's death, a conspiracy of silence was organised around this issue. When after his investigations Harin Shah was preparing to leave Taiwan, he received a telegram from the head of the Sadanand Agency which well illustrates the attitude in India towards the news concerning Bose: "If you say that he is dead, then this is no news. If he is alive, then come back by any method, hire a plane".

In 1947, India gained Independence. In those happy, thrilling and at the same time very troubled years, the question of Bose's fate somewhat lost its intensity. From 1945 till 1950, no Indian appeared at the temple of Renkoji to honour the distinguished Indian leader. The modestly dressed Buddhist monk was the only caretaker of the urn of his ashes.

#### THE TREASURE SUITCASES

But soon after the proclamation of the Indian Republic, the situation began to change. In May 1950 the head of the Indian Diplomatic Mission in Japan, K.K. Chettiyar, paid the temple a visit, after which



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Indians began to appear there regularly. And by the year 1955, on 18th August, the day of Bose's death, a memorial service was held there, which was attended by prominent Japanese personalities other than Indians. Also present were the widow of the Japanese premier Todzio and four generals.

It was then that there also began to surface some not so unimportant facts and details that had earlier not interested anyone. These concern, in particular, the issue of jewels, found in Bose's suitcases. It became known that two of them contained approximately 140 kg. each of gold jewellery - rings, bracelets, chains, necklaces, sacrifices made by the Indian population living in the Japanese occupied countries for the needs of the INA and Bose's leadership. Habibur Rehman stated that on the very next day after Bose's death, he had enquired of them from the Japanese officials. He was informed that the aircraft had burnt along with its cargo contents, but that some small amount of jewellery had been saved. Haisida wrote that all the involved personnel did everything to fulfill their duty, to collect and preserve all the valuables and now (the book was published in 1964) they are "a contribution to Indo-Japanese friendship".

Actually, however, things look different. The jewels were collected with the help of a few tens of people, who covered the site of the catastrophe with sand, after which the gold and jewellery were put into a big jerry-can and sealed. But Habibur Rehman was handed over a wooden box with the valuables in addition to the broken seat. They weighed in all only 11 Kgs. and everything had been damaged by fire. Later, this box was kept under the care of the President of the League of Indian Independence, Murli, in Tokyo, who on 24 September 1951 handed it over to the Indian Mission in Tokyo, after which it was delivered to Delhi and placed in the State Museum.

It is interesting to note that Bose's gold cigarette case with diamonds, a present to him by Hitler, was preserved.

In spite of all the investigations and evidence from eye-witnesses, the belief that Bose had not died and that the story of the in-air catastrophe was cleverly fabricated, continued in India.

A new attempt to reach for the truth was undertaken. The Director of the Bureau of Information of the Government of Bombay State, S.A. Iyer, who in August 1945 himself saw Bose off at the Saigon airport and who later went to Tokyo, where he met H. Rehman in late May 1951, again set off for Japan so as to convince himself that the air crash in Taipei had really taken place. Apparently, the most important event for him were the meetings with the surviving aviation Colonel Nanogaki and Army Captain Arai. They confirmed the evidence collected by H. Rehman, already known to him.



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On the 15th of September 1951, he was invited by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru for discussions, to whom he showed photographs and documents that he had collected and which had been signed by Japanese. "I don't have the least doubt that the ashes that are in the temple of Renkoji in Tokyo - are indeed the ashes of Netaji", - stated S.A. Iyer. A resume of his report to the Prime Minister was presented before the Indian Parliament.

However, as before, these evidences were not believed, and wide circles of Indian society demanded official investigations. The Government was compelled to yield and on 5th April 1956, a special committee to study the facts concerning the last period of Bose's life was constituted, "as public opinion demanded that all the facts be studied and then made public". Its composition was carefully prepared. First of all it included Subhash Chandra Bose's elder brother - Suresh Chandra Bose. The Committee also consisted of Shah Nawaz Khan, the INA Major General and the then Parliamentary Secretary for Transport and Railways. He literally worshipped Bose, as his memoirs published in 1946 make clear.

The third member of the Committee was S.N. Maitra, the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, that were occupied by Japanese troops and later "handed over" to Bose's leadership.

The Committee worked under difficult conditions, being subject to the strongest of pressures. It immediately met with conflicting evidences which did not at all help objective investigations. A member of the Legislative Assembly of Madras State, M. Thevar, made some sensational statements that he had recently made contact with Bose. However, the Parliamentarian refused to produce any documents or share any secrets with the members of the Committee. The Committee's attention was drawn to Bose's instructions, supposedly given by him to his comrades-in-arms, to go underground and be in contact with him on radio. Such attempts were indeed made in Bangkok in the 10 days after Bose's departure but without success.

The members of the Committee conducted laborious investigations in Delhi, Bangkok, Saigon and Tokyo, having interrogated 67 witnesses including four of the six surviving Japanese officers. In its report, the Committee stated that it did not receive any evidence directly confirming Bose's death.

From the photograph, printed after his death with his face covered, it was impossible to identify him, though H. Rehman (in the photograph, standing next to him) explained that Bose's face was very swollen and



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was also disfigured by cuts and wounds. At that time, Rehman lived in Pakistan, but his testimony was received by the Committee.

The Committee could not visit Taiwan due to absence of diplomatic relations between India and the Kuomintang Government, but it took into account the findings of the investigation carried out by Harin Shah. The Committee noted that it had got testimonies on Bose's death from persons of different nationalities who had not been in touch with each other and therefore, any agreement between them was ruled out. Thus, there was no reason to doubt the fact. A report by the Committee emphasised that Bose's remains lay in the temple of Renkoji in Tokyo and should be shifted to India to erect a memorial over them at a proper venue.

#### ADVANTAGE THEME

However, not all members of the Committee agreed with those findings. Bose's brother Suresh refused to sign the report and submitted an alternative text casting doubts on the Committee's findings. In this connection that part of the report is noteworthy which sets forth considerations by the authors regarding those who do not believe in Bose's death. Such people can be divided into two groups. The first one comprises members of Bose's family who believe that he is alive, out of contact with any Indians and would appear in India when he finds it necessary. Bose's relatives are of the opinion that the Japanese Government helped him to go into hiding and, as for Rehman's testimonies, one should not attach any importance to them since he is bound by an oath. An official report by the Commissioner rejected this argument on the ground that Japanese testimonies are confirmed by representatives of other nations. Besides, if H. Rehman is bound by an oath, this is not the case with the Japanese, who simply have no reasons to lie. Let us add to this that under the conditions of the Cold War when Japan became a US ally and when antagonists used any facts for conducting a propagandistic war, it would have been very advantageous for Japan and the West to spread information that Bose had reached Mukden, crossed the Soviet border and was apparently being kept in prison. That would have been a very advantageous theme, promising them a lot of benefits from varied points of view. There could have been individual Japanese eager to use the sensational material to further their own ends. However, nothing like that happened. The report stresses that the second group sticks to the opinion that Bose has been seen by some people, that from time to time he turns up in different places, for instance, in China. The

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author of a brochure published in India argued that initially Bose had been a Russian prisoner, later - a General of the Chinese Army and subsequently a member of the Mongolian trade union delegation to China. Some people even stated that they have seen Bose among Nagas fighting against Indian troops.

In spite of the fact that the official committee of 1956 carried out a lot of work and collected numerous pieces of evidence on Bose's death, its report was considerably devalued by Bose's brother's refusal to sign the document, his rejection of the very thought of Bose's death and submitting of the text of his own findings. This circumstance only multiplied those who doubted the fact of Bose's death in 1945. The number of conjectures about his possible fate increased. The prevailing version was that Bose was in the Soviet Union. The Indian Government was repeatedly presented with demands that it should conduct another investigation. In December 1967, about 350 Indian MPs sent a memorandum to the Indian President insisting that explorations should be carried out in cooperation with the Governments of Japan and Taiwan. "Nothing but such an investigation would satisfy the public opinion and would dissipate the mystery of the Netaji", said the message. In June 1968, a prominent Indian historian Samar Guha stated at a press conference that "a new investigation of the Netaji's mystery is our national duty".

After a delay of two more years, the Indian Government was eventually induced to appoint by an ordinance of 11 July 1970 a commission consisting of one member - G.D. Khosla, a retired Judge who earlier headed the Supreme Court of Punjab. He was entrusted with the mission to "explore circumstances related to the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in 1945 and subsequent events". By that decision the Government itself questioned the findings of the 1956 Committee.

G.D. Khosla accomplished the mission. He published records of examination of all major witnesses who tried to prove that Bose had not died in a crash landing and indicated numerous contradictions in their testimonies. "We should reconcile ourselves to the fact of his death and seek consolation in the thought that he died ardently serving his motherland", he wrote in the report, maintaining further that it was time to abandon all doubts regarding the death of the outstanding politician.

#### A CLUE

As a result of the investigation yet another book was published in India. But the situation did not change in the least. From time to time



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the Indian press published sensational reports of a most incredible character. A furor was created by the report that one Sadhu in Shaulmari Ashram, West Bengal was identified as Bose, the fact having been confirmed by many of his associates. A sudden disappearance of the Sadhu seemingly proved the correctness of the surmise. The report was especially intriguing as one Delhi taxi driver stated that he had seen Bose in that disguise. There were also testimonies that he had been seen in Rangoon dressed as a Burmese priest. An explanation as to why he was in hiding was also suggested : it was alleged that his personality sustained changes, he had lost his memory and was even unaware that the war was over.

But still the most popular was the version according to which Bose was staying in our country. The data available on that score might be divided into two groups. According to the first one, Bose was welcomed in Moscow as an honourable person. Somebody testified that on December 24, 1956 Bose had been received in the Kremlin. Others maintained that Bose had been seen in a Siberian camp. Former MP, Dr. Satya Narayan Sinha told G.D. Khosla that this had been conveyed to him by a certain Russian Officer Kuslov (Kislov?).

The fate of the Swedish diplomat Raul Vallenberg greatly stirred up interest for the latter version.

"Echo of the Planet" Magazine ( November 22, 1992) published a well-founded article by A. Vinogradov titled "Life and death of Netaji Bose" - the first one exploring this subject in our press. The article contains a number of facts which indicate that, after the Second World War, Bose seemed to stay in the Soviet Union. But since it adduces no indisputable document, the article unfortunately, can only add to the long list of Indian publications of the same kind. The author is supplemented with a remarkable editorial note which very cautiously says that "Moscow is quite well informed about the real state of things, more than this, the relevant document is available". Unfortunately, it is impossible to understand why precisely is meant by "the real state of things" and to what that document "relates. The reference made to "reliable sources" is astonishing too. In the epoch of openness we have got accustomed that our journalists do not conceal things they know.

The author of the article has at his disposal a single reliable document pertaining to the subject - a letter by the "Main Archives Department of the Foreign Ministry of the USSR which says that the archives of the Foreign Ministry contain no documents on contacts between Soviet diplomats and Bose.

However, there are many other archives in our country. Probably they contain a clue to the mystery of Subhash Chandra Bose.

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NECESSARY EPILOGUE

By V. TOURADJEV

Probably, until recently only experts knew about Chandra Bose in our country, though he is quite an extraordinary figure. Bose is not only a prominent politician. He is a remarkable, but in many aspects also, a controversial personality, a man whose life and fate are wrapped up in a shroud of many legends and mysteries. One of the mysteries is connected with our country. Many in India and not only in India, are still confident that at the very end of the War, Netaji found himself in the Soviet Union, where his traces were lost.

The above article by A. Raikov who has been for a long time engaged in profound studies on India seems to give a well-grounded answer to this question. Indeed, serious scholars do not look for sensations and do not question the fact of Subhash Chandra Bose's death in August 1945. Documents and testimonies quoted by A. Raikov, convincingly proved this....

But still..... still doubts remain.

Vinogradov's article published in "Echo of the Planet" says that Habibur Rehman who accompanied Bose in his last flight got off from the plane in Taiwan and thus became not a victim, but a witness to the crash landing. However, the facts quoted by A. Raikov are indicative of a different thing. Habibur Rehman was near Netaji when the bomber crashed, having lost its left engine, and both of them had to get out from under the debris through the flames. All those who were helping both Indians in those dramatic hours saw Habibur Rehman's bandaged hand and burnt face.

The discrepancy is very serious. If A. Vinogradov is right (and he leans on materials from the Indian press) then the version about Netaji's double or, at least, about a man who pretended to be Subhash Chandra Bose, is possible. Japanese officers who flew with him in the plane, as well as Chinese personnel of the airport and in Taipei Hospital where efforts were made to save Bose's life did not know him by face. Habibur Rehman knew him, but he got off the plane literally a few minutes before the crash landing. What was the reason for that? The bomber was heavily overloaded. But there were other passengers in it and a lot of luggage. And how could Netaji who was accustomed to numerous servants and personal guards be left without his adjutant? Did he plan to cross the Soviet border alone?



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In such a case can we assume that Bose was not in the plane which crashed in Taiwan on the 18th of August 1945. Could it be that the crash landing was pre-arranged and Rahman, knew about it and left the plane in time? But which party so cunningly organised that? Were they Bose's friends - the Germans? But at that time fascist Germany was plunged into defeat and ruin and leaders of the Third Reich hid themselves as cockroaches in the cracks, committed suicide or were arrested and awaited trial. Were they Bose's patrons - the Japanese? But Japan just before that announced its surrender and its Generals cared only about saving their skins. Does it follow that they were Russians? But what on earth could be their reason? True, there were also the British - sworn enemies of Netaji. As is known, they had issued a warrant to arrest him. But they wanted Bose himself and not his double. However, there is a variant under which it would be convenient for the British to deal precisely with his double. We will discuss that variant later.

Let us consider quite a simple question, dictated by common sense: What could be the reason for Bose's desire to go to the Soviet Union? It is known that Messow for many years demonstratively abstained from any contacts with him. (Here also follows a natural question - Why?). And what could be the fate of the man who during the whole war had cooperated with fascists in the country which had first of all suffered from fascism? Messow could admire "effectiveness and discipline" of the Nazis in the Thirties, but by the end of the War he already knew about extermination camps and gas chambers in Europe, about genocide of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, about sufferings and tortures of peoples, enslaved by the Swastika. Could Bose expect a warm welcome in the USSR? Of course, he could not.

So, consequently he found himself in a Siberian camp", - again repeat those who stubbornly insist on "the Russian trace". Well, for God's sake, was Bose eager to get into a Soviet jail". He, so to say, had an option, not necessarily in triumph. Probably, at first he would have had to stay there in hiding. But in India he was adored and worshipped. And could the warrant to arrest, issued by British authorities, prevent him? No.

But there was another reason. And here we are approaching the main point which actually accounts for this note as a follow up of A. Raikov's article. The thing is that the editors of "Asia and Africa Today" got the



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opportunity to acquaint themselves with material from the KGB archives which are in some way related to Subhash Chandra Bose. In our opinion, those documents induce one to take a new glance at the life and fate of the prominent figure of the Indian national liberation movement. We will discuss this subject in the next issue of the magazine.

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Director(EE) from Ajai Malhotra, Counsellor(Information)

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Continuation mylet MOS/POL/303/2/93 of 19 November 1993.

Issue No. 10/93 of the monthly journal 'Asia and Africa Today' has just been released. It contains the third and final article on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ( titled "Against whom did Subhash Chandra Bose fight during the Second World War"). Text in Russian is enclosed. English translation is being done on a priority basis and will be faxed to you very shortly.

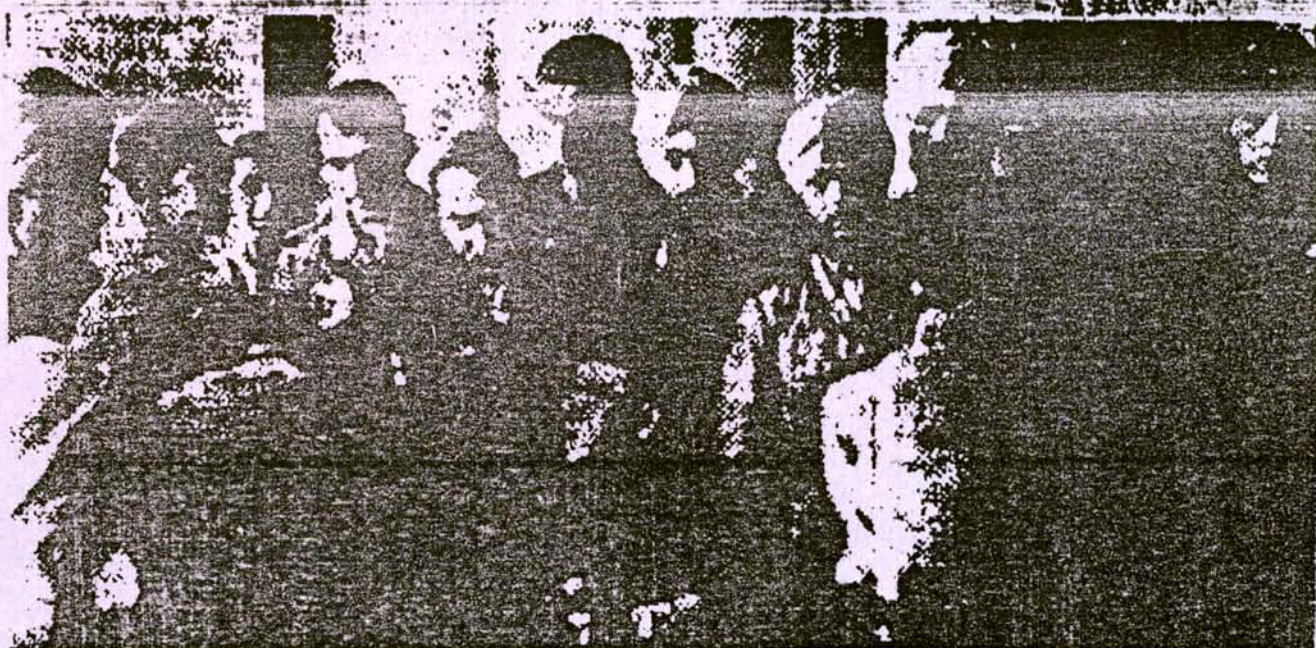
( Ajai Malhotra )  
Counsellor (Inf.)  
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Dir(EE) O.K.  
I had asked OSD(EE)  
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Индия

# Против кого воевал Субхас Чандра Бос В ГОДЫ ВТОРОЙ МИРОВОЙ ВОЙНЫ

В. ТУРАДЖЕВ

**В** январе 1954 года в 101-ю школу КГБ поступило новое учебное пособие. На широком, тщательно документированном материале, включающем агентурные донесения, шифровки, письма, телеграммы, радиопередачи и т. п., этот профессионально составленный аналитический обзор раскрывает перед слушателями картину того, как велись войны против СССР гитлеровские спецслужбы с территории Афганистана накануне и в годы второй мировой войны, как, какими способами и какими органами безопасности удалось нейтрализовать подпольную диверсионную, террористическую и разведывательную деятельность в республиках Средней Азии широкой

сети диверсионных групп, профессиональных террористических отрядов, тайных складов оружия, конспиративных квартир, радиостанций, подпольных типографий, баз идеологического, финансового и технического обеспечения абверовской агентуры.

Парадоксально в этом обзоре, на котором учились десятки и сотни советских профессиональных разведчиков, рассказано об обширных планах германского вторжения в Индию, о том, как немцы пытались использовать в этих целях индийских граждан, в частности Субхаса Чандру Боса и Бхигуе Раму.

Первая глава этого, прямо скажем, необычного учебного пособия, которое читается как захватывающий детективный роман, озаглавлена «Появление в Афганистане индийского политического деятеля Боса и

перевоска его немецкой разведкой в Берлин». В ней кратко излагаются события, о которых читатель уже знает из предыдущего номера нашего журнала. Примечательна последняя фраза этой небольшой главы (в ней всего четыре страницы машинописного текста):

«Таковы основные обстоятельства «сознательного» перехода его на сторону фашистской Германии». Выделенные мною в этой цитате слова взяты в кавычки автором аналитического обзора. Для КГБ в то время Боса из Индии не было ничего таинственного и малознаменного. Дело в том, что из глубины истории Индии, его тайной Бос и почему он оказался в Берлине.

Опубликовано в журнале «Азия и Африка сегодня», 1973, № 5.

Бос с офицерами Нариндрийской армией. Берлин, 1942 год.



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### Ключевая фигура — БХАГАТ РАМ

Внимательное ознакомление с архивными документами КГБ, предоставленными Службой внешней разведки России в распоряжение редакции, позволяет сделать неожиданный, но, на мой взгляд, обоснованный вывод. Субхас Чандра Бос сотрудничал с английской Секретной интеллигентной службой. С какого времени, на каких условиях — это еще предстоит выяснить. Но то, что в камуфляже и в годы второй мировой войны он действовал в контакте с англичанами, прямо или косвенно подтверждается фактами.

Начнем с косвенных доказательств. Мог ли Субхас Чандра Бос самостоятельно, без содействия извне, бежать из-под стражи в самом конце 1940 года? Наверное, мог. Да и сторожников в Индии у него было достаточно, чтобы воспользоваться их помощью. Но затем, в условиях военного времени, он проскакал полстраны, сумел пробраться через полосу пуштунских племен, беспрепятственно пересек индийско-афганскую границу и почти три месяца нелегально пребывал в Кабуле, который в то время кишмя кишел английскими шпионами.

Да, все это время ему очень и очень помогал Бхагат Рам, человек вдоль и поперек исколесивший Индию, имевший обширнейшие связи в самых разных слоях общества. Но вот как раз Бхагат Рам и вызывает наибольшие подозрения относительно того, как и почему Бос оказался в Берлине. Бхагат Рам — глубоко законспирированный агент Секретной интеллигентной службы, и стал он им не весной 1942 года, когда попросил русскую разведку рассказать о себе англичанам, а гораздо раньше. Та легенда, которую он поведает при своей вербовке нашим, выглядела вполне убедительно. Но уж чересчур впечатляющим выглядел в ней антибританский элемент. Напомню, что один из братьев Рама, по его словам, был повешен колониальными властями, а два других подверглись жестоким репрессиям. Сам он буквально афишировал глубокую ненависть к англичанам. И вот такой человек сам предлагает своим врагам сотрудничество. Его не смущает при этом и то, что он предаст своего друга и соратника Субхаса Чандру Боса, и обрекает на очевидный провал дело, которому они оба себя посвятили, дело, которое было поручено им их партиями Передовой блок и Кирти кшам — наладить сотрудничество с фашистской Германией с целью ускорить военное поражение Англии.

Так, может быть, дело у них было совсем другое? Может быть, задачу они (или им) ставили иную? Может быть, действовали они не против ан-

Этот портрет  
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личан, а вместе с англичанами? Тогда многое становится понятным. Понятно, почему Босу так легко удалось бежать из-под стражи. Понятно, почему Бос и Рам смогли беспрепятственно добраться до Кабула. Понятно, наконец, почему английские колониальные власти хранили столь долгое молчание о побеге Боса: не дай Бог, какой-нибудь ретивый полицейский или пограничник узнает его, тогда весь план рухнет.

### «ВКЛАД» БОСА В БОРЬБУ С АНГЛИЕЙ

А план этот был тщательно продуманным и очень смелым. У меня нет, разумеется, в руках этого плана. Но суть его, на мой взгляд, такова. В лице Боса, влиятельного индийского политического лидера, пользовавшегося на родине огромным авторитетом, чьи резкие антибританские высказывания были широко известны, англичане внедрились в самое сердце фашистской Германии своего человека с очень надежной и убедительной легендой. Через него они оперативно узнавали о стратегических и тактических замыслах немцев в отношении Индии и всего Востока, о готовящихся военных операциях, о подрывных действиях и вообще о военнополитическом поведении противника. С его помощью (и при активном участии Бхагата Рама) они сумели нейтрализовать настойчивые попытки немцев создать в Индии свою «пятую колонну» — широкую шпионско-диверсионную сеть, подготовить материально-техническую базу для вторжения на субконтинент с суши и с моря.

В самом деле, давайте посмотрим, какую практическую помощь оказал Бос своим фашистским покровителям, каков его конкретный вклад в ту жестокую и бескомпромиссную борьбу, которую столь яростно вел



нацистская Германия против Англии, неся в этой борьбе большие потери. (Эти потери, конечно, несоизмеримы с тем катастрофическим уроном, который Гитлер терпел на восточном фронте в войне с Россией, но и они серьезно расшатывали военно-политические устои «третьего рейха».)

Да, Бос создал в Берлине свою организацию «Свободная Индия», от имени которой вел антибританскую радиопропаганду. Но кто в Индии слышал программы радиостанции, передатчики которой находились в Берлине? Бос запрашивал Бхагата Рама, насколько эффективна эта работа. Тот, сходя по поручению кабульской резидентуры адверта в Индию, бодро рапортовал шефу, что вся страна сидит, прильнув к радиоприемникам. Мы с вами уже знаем цену этих рапортов. Да, немцы радовались тому, как Бос энтузиастично разворачивал в Индии шпионско-диверсионное подполье, как тщательно и продуманно он готовил общенациональное восстание против англичан. Но это был «оптический обман», иллюзия, умело созданная советскими и английскими спецслужбами.

Да, Бос сколачивал «Армию свободной Индии» («Азад хинд фавдж»)



из индийских солдат, восставших на стороне союзников и попавших в плен в Африке, Малайе и Бирме. Но это было бутаторское войско, служившее экзотической декорацией для театра, а никак не серьезная боевая сила.

Да, Бос регулярно слал из Берлина инструкции и указания своим сторонникам в Индии о проведении конкретных антианглийских акций. Но эти указания с помощью радиоперехвата попадали в руки союзников, которые благодаря все тому же Бхагату Раму располагали немецкими шифрами и принимали соответствующие меры.

Да, Бос передавал своим немецким друзьям обстоятельные доклады о военно-политической обстановке в Индии. Но это, как мы знаем, была умело составленная дезинформация.

К чему же, в таком случае, сводятся практические результаты антианглийской деятельности नेताджи в годы второй мировой войны? Почти к нулю. Вот и А. Виноградов в своей статье, опубликованной в журнале «Эхо планеты» и построенной на индийских источниках, подтверждает эту мысль: «Вообще, всерьез говорить о какой-то военной роли индийского воинства (имеется в виду «Азад хинд фуджа» — В. Т.) не приходится». (Разумеется, ни Виноградов, ни индийские источники и мысли не допускают о том, что Бос сотрудничал с англичанами.)

Может быть, Бос не знал всего этого? Может быть, не ведал о том, какой хитроумной паутиной лжи и обмана оплели его эти коварные англичане вкупе с русскими? Может быть, и подумать не смел о предательстве Бхагата Рама, в результате чего его «самостоятельная борьба» с Англией походила на бой с тенью? Но ведь у него была не одна возможность перепроверить сообщения и доклады Бхагата Рама. Он действительно располагал большим числом сторонников в Индии и мог наладить с ними надежные каналы связи, минуя Кабул. На сколько мне известно, он не сделал этого. Почему?

Когда весной 1943 года Бос переехал в Японию, он и там больше занимался тем, что мы называем показухой. Его воинство, его гордость «Азад хинд фуджа», зачастую маршировало без башмаков, что уж там говорить про оружие. Зато сам नेताджи, объявив себя главой государства и премьер-министром «Свободной Индии», а задно военным министром и министром иностранных дел, окружил свою особу пышной свитой, адъютантами, слугами.

Я отнюдь не иронизирую. Если и правильно понимаю этого великого человека, Субхас Чандра Бос вынуж-

Один из последних портретов Боса. 1944 год.

ден был надеть на себя маску эдакого восточного падишаха, дабы придать себе важность и значимость в глазах новых хозяев — японцев. Если не делами в достигшей апогея борьбе против союзников, то хотя бы внешним антуражем. Это нужно было для того, чтобы японцы, как и немцы, доверяли ему, посвящали в свои планы.

В начале 1944 года японцы и босовские войска предприняли явно авантюрное наступление на северо-востоке Индии. Их целью был захват горда Импахлы. Но англичане наголову разбили наступавших. И когда генерал Кавабэ, выполняя предписание премьер-министра Тодзио, отдал приказ к отступлению, Бос сделал театральный жест: он, изображая полное отчаяние, предложил ввести в бой... нет, не личную свою охрану, состоящую из 500 отборных «смертников», а женский полк, который обстирывал его солдат.

А как понимать вот эту директиву, посланную Босом по радио своим сторонникам (радиоперехват 29 января 1944 года): «Наши отряды в Индии должны иметь в виду, что революция в Индии не должна начинаться до тех пор, пока мы («Азад хинд фуджа» и японские части. — В. Т.) не форсируем Брахмапутру и не направимся к Калькутте? Неужели Бос не понимал, что атака на Импахлу, будь она поддержана антибританским восстанием в тылу, имела бы гораздо больше шансов на успех? Нужен ли был ему этот успех и верил ли он (хотел ли!), что руководимая им «Армия свободной Индии», поддерживаемая японскими штыками, выйдет к берегам великой индийской реки Брахмапутры?

#### ТОМ ОБЕСПЕЧИВАЕТ БОСУ СВЯЗЬ С ЛОНДОНОМ

Да, понимаю, что все это косвенные свидетельства, трактовать которые можно по-разному. Хотя взятые вместе, выстроенные в логическую цепочку, они, как мне представляется, говорят в пользу выдвинутой мною версии, особенно тот бесспорный факт, что друг и соратник Боса Бхагат



Рам был профессиональным английским разведчиком.

Впрочем, есть и более веские аргументы. Вот передо мной донесение советского агента из Англии о совещании представителей Секрет интеллигентного сервиса, которое проходило 12 марта 1943 года в Оксфорде. Среди прочего в нем сообщается, что «Бос находится сейчас на германской подводной лодке на пути в Японию». Действительно, еще в 1942 году министр иностранных дел Германии Риббентроп договорился с японцами о том, чтобы переправить नेताджи в Юго-Восточную Азию. Об этом стало известно после войны, из немецких архивов. Операция эта осуществлялась в строжайшей тайне. Где-то в районе Южной Африки, в открытом море, Боса с огромным для него риском пересадили с немецкой подводной лодки на японскую. Подлинного имени таинственного пассажира не знали даже капитаны обеих субмарин. Но как об этом проведели англичане? Да еще с такими деталями. Да еще столь оперативно: совещание проходило в то время, когда Бос плыл на немецкой подводке.

Мог ли информировать Бхагата Рам? Однозначно — нет. Ему это было не положено по штату. А если бы он и узнал что-то, то немедленно известил бы советскую разведку — такой был заведенный в Кабуле порядок.

Так как же попала к англичанам



сверхсекретная информация? Есть  
законные основания полагать, что из-  
вестил их сам Бос.

Вот еще один документ, настолько  
важный, что приведу его полностью.

«Совершенно секретно»

«Заман»

11 июля 1944 г.

Подробности

пребывания «Рома» в Кабуле

с 1 по 24 мая 1944 года

«Ром» прибыл в Кабул 1 мая, в тот  
же день вышел на контрольную явку, а  
вечером состоялась с ним встреча. На  
вопрос, почему он запоздал с приез-  
дом, «Ром» сказал, что он выехал из  
Дели 13 апреля и должен был прибыть  
в Кабул не позднее 22 апреля, но он  
задержался на территории племен в  
связи с болезнью «Санга», и он  
вынужден был оставить его там  
и взять вместо него в качестве  
сопровождающего Гулям-оль-  
Рахмана, коммуниста, работаю-  
щего на территории племен по  
заданию компартии Индии.  
Гулям-оль-Рахман ранее в Аф-  
ганистане не бывал. Затем  
«Ром» передал копию дзез,  
составленной англичанами для  
немцев, а также изложенную на  
бумаге легенду, составленную  
также англичанами как памя-  
тку, на основе которой «Ром»  
должен сообщить японцам о  
судьбе заброшенных ими де-  
рзти агентов в Индию. Кроме  
того, «Ром» передал мне фото-  
карточку своего брата, о кото-  
ром сообщил в свой последний  
приезд и которого он хотел так-  
же использовать по связи с  
нами и по линии немцев и  
японцев.

Я спросил «Рома», чем было  
вызвано вообще его долгое  
отсутствие. «Ром» объяснил,  
что он был очень нужен в Ин-  
дии, а после установления ан-  
гличанами радиосвязи с «То-  
мом» (Берлин) и «Оливером»  
(Кабул) они и «Ром» решили,  
что нет особой необходимости  
в поездке в Кабул. Однако два  
месяца назад Москва просила  
направить «Рома» в Кабул, на  
что нач. английской разведки  
Дженкин ответил, что в «Роме»  
имеется большая нужда в про-  
ведении ряда мероприятий по  
японцам. После этого Москва  
просила сообщить, что это за

дела. Тогда Дженкин решил отпра-  
вить «Рома» в Кабул, тем более что  
англичане хотели разгадать странное  
поведение «Тома» и «Оливера», про-  
являвших непонятное равнодушие к  
работе и не дававших указаний и отве-  
тов на запросы.

У Дженкина, по словам «Рома»,  
возникло подозрение, не догадались  
ли немцы о характере работы «Рома».  
Это подозрение подкреплялось еще  
тем, что японцы заслали на подвод-  
ных лодках свою агентуру в Индию без  
всякого на то предупреждения по  
линии «Рома» и несмотря на то, что в  
прошлом году, в декабре м-це, ан-  
гличане сообщили «Тому» адреса для  
передачи их Босу. По этому делу, т. е.  
по заброске японцами агентуры,

«Рому» поручено объяснить немцам и  
японцам, что заброске последними  
агентуры ему стало известно от своих  
людей («Ром» должен руководство-  
ваться указанной выше легендой,  
составленной англичанами, копию  
которой он передал нам и которая  
прилагается).

Прежде всего — несколько поясне-  
ний. «Заман» — это советский развед-  
чик Михаил Александрович Аллах-  
вердов, который работал с Бхагратом  
Рамом, проходившим в сводках как  
«Ром».

Дженкин представлял в Кабуле  
Секрет интеллигентс сервис. Он  
поддерживал в годы войны рабочий  
контакт с нашими спецслужбами.

А теперь еще раз внимательно

МОСТ СЕКРЕТ.

500

FROM: Colonel G.A. Hill, D.S.O.,

TO: Colonel Oasipov.

Moscow, 11th December, 1943.

*Dear Colonel Oasipov,*

With reference to my letter of November 18th, 1943 concerning  
the possible visit to Moscow of the Director of Intelligence  
(India); Delhi explain the delay in their reply by the fact that  
the Director was in transit.

Delhi has now been able to consult him, and his views are  
as follows:-

1. He considers it desirable that discussions should take place  
on general matters of common interest, but for agenda purposes  
he puts forward the following main headings:-

2. (a) The future handling of the Bhagat Ram case, with a view  
to the elimination in future of the delays which have  
occurred in the past.

(b) The improvement of liaison between your organization  
and the British organization in India on the subject  
of Asiatic intelligence matters.

I reiterate what I have said and written to you - that in  
my opinion and in view of the decisions reached at the Moscow  
and Tehran Conferences, such a visit is most desirable for the  
furthering of British-Soviet aims.

*Yours*  
*Gene Hill*  
Colonel.

Очередное послание сотрудника  
СКС полковника Хилла своему  
московскому коллеге  
о координации работы  
разведывательных служб двух  
союзных стран в деле борьбы  
с «Ромом».



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перечитайте донесение «Замана». Из него совершенно ясно вытекает, что англичане заслали в Берлин своего радиста по кличке «Том», который обеспечивал им оперативную и независимую связь с Босом. Судя по всему, именно через «Тома» Бос и известил Лондон о своем отплытии на подводной лодке в Японию.

### ТАЙНА БОСА ХРАНИТСЯ В АНГЛИЙСКИХ АРХИВАХ

Если моя версия о том, что Субхас Чандра Бос в годы второй мировой войны сотрудничал не с немцами и японцами, а с англичанами, верна, то что все это означает?

Прежде всего это означает огромный успех английских спецслужб, которые через Боса получали чрезвычайно важности информацию о противнике и с его помощью смогли, по существу, нейтрализовать опаснейшие планы германских фашистов и японских милитаристов в отношении Индии.

Что касается самого Боса, то открывшиеся факты (если, конечно, это достоверные факты; а как не оставить место сомнениям в таком архислож-

ном деле, в котором замешаны спецслужбы крупнейших мировых держав?) заставляют по-новому взглянуть на эту легендарную личность. Мне представляется, что они добавля- ют к его и без того почти мистическому образу ореол мученичества и героизма. В самом деле, легко ли было ему, посвятившему всю свою жизнь борьбе с британским колониализмом, пойти на сотрудничество с англичанами? Но в то грозное время, на стыке 30-х и 40-х годов, он, видимо, осознал, что главным врагом для всего человечества, а значит, и для его горячо любимой Индии стал фашизм.

Разумеется, было бы величайшей глупостью увидеть в свете всего этого в Босе азурного шпиона, платного агента. Если он пошел на сотрудничество с колонизаторами, то только из идейных соображений, во имя достижения высокой и гуманной цели, ради избавления человечества от коричневой чумы.

Впрочем, не тороплюсь ли я с этими суждениями? Ведь еще нужно подтвердить вновь открывшиеся обстоятельства самого загадочного периода жизни Субхаса Чандры Боса, подкрепить их новыми фактами, документами, расследованиями. Многие, очень многое остается далеко не ясным. Главная тайна и все мельчайшие, но очень важные детали скрыты в английских архивах. Хотя, надо прямо сказать, Лондон не является монопольным хранителем тайны Боса. В полученных редакцией материалах, в частности в упомянувшемся мною

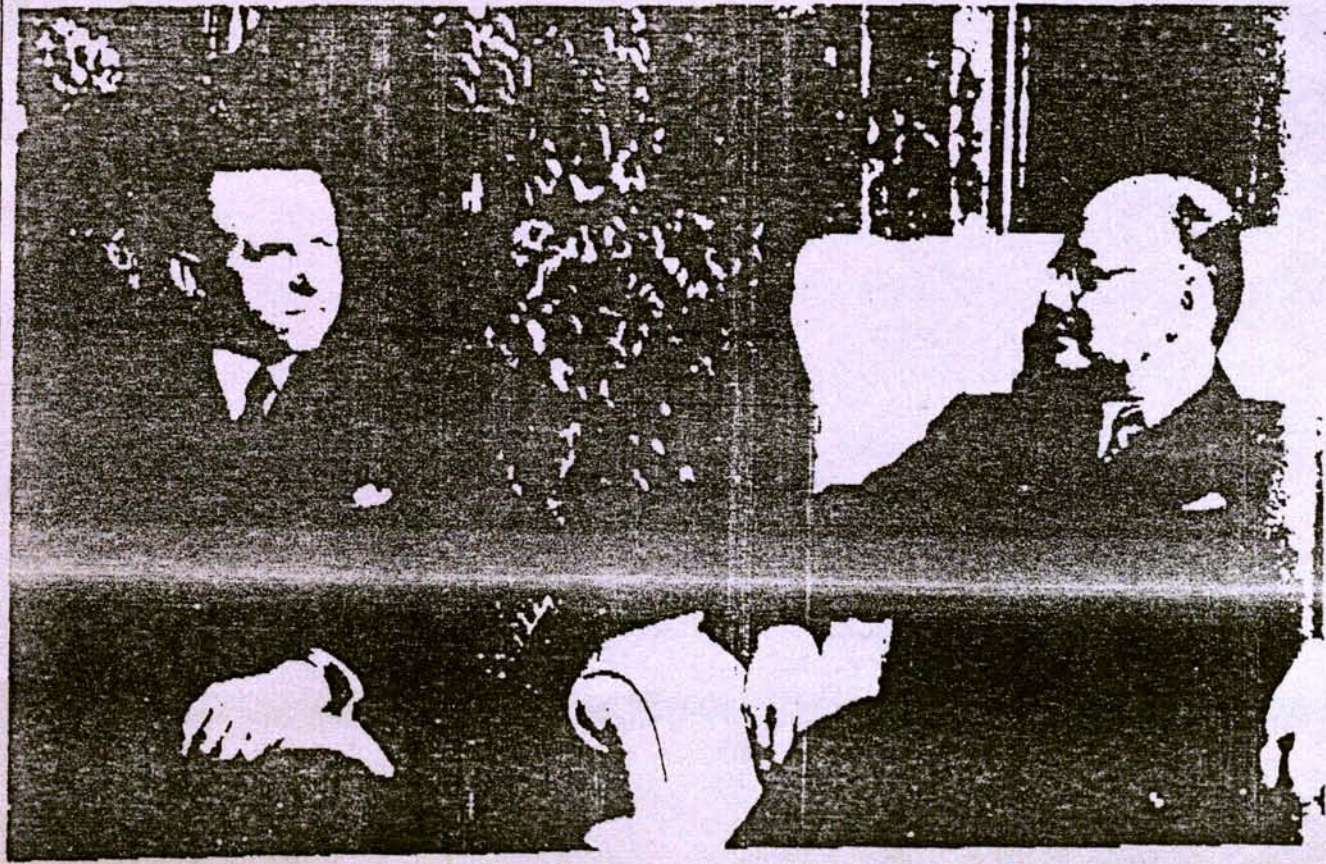
учебном пособии КГБ, приведена, как я полагаю, лишь малая толика сведений о Босе. Думаю, если хорошо покопаться в архивах этого ведомства, можно обнаружить еще массу интересного. «У Великобритании не было тайн, неизвестных русским, столь эффективным было проникновение нашей страны их агентов», — говорил Джон Костелло, английский историк, который, воспользовавшись новой политикой гласности, проводимой сегодня в России, занялся активным изучением архивных материалов, раскрывающих тайны спецслужб.

Костелло прав. В Англии, в самом сердце МИДа и Секретинтеллидженс сервис, работала блистательная птерка советских агентов, так называемая «кембриджская группа» в составе Кима Филби, Дональда Маклина, Гэ Бэрджесса и Энтони Бланта. По крайней мере с середины 30-х годов она снабжала Москву важнейшей разведывательной информацией. Недавно стало известно, что параллельно «пятеркой» на Советы работала столь же важная «оксфордская группа» возглавляемая выпускником Итонекого колледжа по кличке Скотт, личность которого до сих пор не установлена. Думаю, что донесение о совещании в СИС, состоявшемся 12 марта 1943 года в Оксфорде, на которое выше ссылался, было получено в Москве именно от этой группы.

Как видим, осведомленность КГБ о том, кто и зачем организовал миссию Боса в Берлин, а затем в Токно, покоится не на досужих домыслах. Мне

Встреча ватайков с деятелями третьего рейха: геббельсовская служба использовала для пропаганды идея фашизма в странах Азии и Африки. На снимке: Субхас Чандра Бос и Отто Фельтмс. Берлин, 1942 год.

Фото из архива КГБ и архива «Эхо планеты»





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представляется, что индийская общественность вправе потребовать от Лондона опубликования засекреченных до сих пор архивов, которые могут восстановить всю правду о Субхасе Чандре Босе. Надо развеять легенды и мистику, которыми окружено это имя. А тумана очень много. Вот и чилийские неонацисты, асарины в оккультные науки, почитают Боса святым и на своих собраниях вызывают его дух, дабы укрепить свою волю. Об этом недавно рассказывало российское телевидение.

Субхас Чандра Бос — идол фашистов? Но это же нонсенс. Человек высоких гуманистических идеалов, он не мог не видеть, что на практике означает фашизм. Да, он одобрительно высказывался о порядке и дисциплине, царивших в Германии. Но он одобрял именно порядок и дисциплину, без которых не может нормально функционировать ни одно человеческое общество, а не фашистские методы их осуществления. Насилие над личностью, как и проповедовавшийся фашистами расизм, человеконенавистничество, были глубоко чужды этому человеку с глубокими демократическими убеждениями, воспитанному на светлых проповедях Вивекананды, на патерналистских традициях индуизма, высоконравственных идеалах социалистов-утилитаристов. Если он и признавал оправданными насильственные методы, то исключительно в борьбе против колониализма.

Архивы, хранящиеся в Англии, должны ответить на вопрос, что делал Бос в Берлине и Токио: вел ли он дружбу с фашистами или же вел против них свою тайную, но полную героизма войну.

Тогда можно будет поставить точку и в истории его загадочной гибели. Впрочем А. Райков в № 8 нашего журнала за этот год нарисовал исчерпывающую и убедительную картину того, как и при каких обстоятельствах ушел из жизни этот выдающийся политический деятель Индии.

К сказанному профессором добавлю немного. Субхас Чандра Бос обращался в советское посольство в Японии за поддержкой. Вот его письмо (перевод с английского) в том виде, как оно хранится в архиве КГБ.

**«АРЗЕН ХУКУМАТЕ АЗАД ХИНД**  
(Временное Правительство  
Свободной Индии)

Империал отель, Токио,  
Понедельник, 20-го ноября 1944 г.  
Его Превосходительству Советскому послу, Токио.

Ваше Превосходительство!

Сейчас, когда я нахожусь в Токио, мне бы очень хотелось воспользоваться этим случаем для посещения Вашего Превосходительства. Стремясь к выполнению своей задачи

во поддержку Советского Правительства в борьбе Индии за независимость.

2. Тот факт, что сейчас мы тесно связаны с державами Оси в общей борьбе против англо-американцев, не останавливает меня. Я счастлив заявить, что державы Оси имеют ясное представление об особенностях проблемы Индии и что они любезно дали формальное признание Временного Правительства Азад Хинд (Свободной Индии), за что мы благодарны. Кроме Японии, чьи отношения с Советским Правительством носят строго нейтральный характер, даже Германское Правительство полностью поняло наше положение и полностью оценило тот факт, что мы, индусы, заинтересованы только в действиях против Англии и Америки. Германское правительство также поняло и оценило тот факт, что мы не заинтересованы в действиях против Советской России. В действительности деятельность моей организации в Европе велась исключительно против англо-американцев, но не против Советской России. Это лежало в основе нашего сотрудничества с державами Оси в Европе, и в этом отношении мы имеем полное понимание и одобрение со стороны Германского Правительства и Фашистского Итальянского Правительства.

3. Я знаю, что сейчас существует союз между Советским Правительством и Правительствами Англии и США. Но я достаточно хорошо разбираюсь в международной политике, чтобы понять, что это не может помешать Советскому Правительству оказывать нам поддержку в нашей борьбе за независимость. Я с благодарностью вспоминаю о помощи, предоставленной мне Советским Правительством после того, как я покинул Индию в 1941 году. Я передал свою благодарность за это Его Превосходительству Министру иностранных дел г-ну Молотову в письме, написанном из Берлина, которое, я надеюсь, было должным образом получено Его Превосходительством.

4. Меня еще ободряет то, что во время своей жизни Ленин всегда от всего сердца поддерживал колониальные страны в их борьбе за независимость. Насколько мне известно, после смерти Ленина отношение Советского Правительства к проблемам порабощенных стран, как Индия, ни в какой степени не изменилось.

5. Что касается моей партии — Передового блока, то я могу сказать, что в то время, когда советская внешняя политика в Европе осуждалась почти всеми партиями Индии в 1939—1940 гг., мы были единственными людьми, которые открыто поддерживали советскую внешнюю политику по отношению к Германии и Финляндии. Более того, мы составляли

движения в Индии и придерживаемся наиболее передовых взглядов по социальным и экономическим проблемам. Далее, наша партия является единственной партией в Индии, которая до настоящего дня проводит бескомпромиссную борьбу против английского империализма в сотрудничестве с некоторыми другими революционными группами.

6. Мне бы очень хотелось встретиться с Вашим Превосходительством и найти при помощи Вашего Превосходительства поддержку Советского Правительства в нашей борьбе за независимость. Что же касается характера помощи, которую Советское Правительство может оказать нам, то это такой вопрос, который должен быть решен Советским Правительством в связи с настоящей военной обстановкой. Я бы только хотел добавить, что мы полны решимости сделать Индию совершенно свободной и что Правительства, признавшие Временное Правительство Свободной Индии, безоговорочно согласны с нами в этом вопросе.

Заверю Вас, Ваше Превосходительство, в моем высоком к Вам уважении и ожидаю Вашего скорого ответа.

Остаюсь искренне Ваш  
Субхас Чандра Бос.

К этому письму есть сопроводительная записка комиссара госбезопасности А. Лангфранга на имя начальника 5-го отдела Первого управления НКВД полковника А. Отрошенко:

«Направляю копию письма (перевод) Боса, которое он прислал в Японию посылу СССР Я. Малику, 3 января 1945 года».

Обращение Боса в посольство СССР осталось без последствий. Почему? Видимо, потому, что советские органы госбезопасности, будучи информированы о том, что Бос тайно сотрудничает с английскими спецслужбами, не захотели ухудшать отношений со своим союзником по антигитлеровской коалиции. Может быть, у них были и другие соображения, продиктованные прежде всего теплой дружбой КПСС с компартией Индии.

И в заключение — еще один документ из архива КГБ:

«Справка

После капитуляции Японии в первой половине сентября 1945 года, согласно сообщению ТАСС из Токио по английским источникам, Субхас Чандра Бос, находившийся в Японии, умер.

Зам. нач. 3 отд. 5 отдела  
1 Упр. НКГБ СССР  
подполковник Набатников  
25/XII 1945 г.»

Для КГБ вопрос о Босе был закрыт.



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04-JAN-94 11:08 EMBASSY OF INDIA MOSCOW

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Director(EE) From Ajai Malhotra, Counsellor(Information)

Continuation my earlier Fax of 28 January 1994. Enclosed is the English translation of the article published in 'Asia and Africa Today' ( Issue No. 10/93) titled "Against Whom Subhash Chandra Bose fought during World War II" by V. Turajev.

तार अनुसंधान (विदेश)  
प्राप्त हुआ: 041542  
भेजा गया: 041550  
प्रकाशन के लिए: SK

( Ajai Malhotra )  
Counsellor (Inf.)  
4.1.1994

04 JAN 1994

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**"ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY"**

( Issue No. 10/93)

**"AGAINST WHOM SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE FOUGHT DURING WORLD WAR II"**

In January 1954, KGB School N 101 received a new training aid. On the basis of comprehensive and well-documented materials which included secret agents' reports, cipher messages, letters, telegrams, radio intercepts and so on, that professionally compiled analytical survey revealed to a student how on the eve and during World War II the Nazi secret services had acted against the Soviet Union from Afghan territory, how and by what methods our security bodies had managed to neutralise subversive activities, to foil German plans aimed at creating in the Central Asian Republics a broad net of subversive groups, pro-fascist terrorist teams, secret stores of arms, secret addresses, radio stations, underground presses, bases for ideological, financial and technical support to agents of German military intelligence.

Along with this the survey, which served as a textbook for many a Soviet professional secret agent, tells about the vast plans for a German invasion of India and how the Germans tried to use Indian citizens, specifically Subhash Chandra Bose and Bhagat Ram, for those purposes.

The first chapter of this unusual textbook which reads as a thriller is titled "Advent of Indian politician Bose in Afghanistan and his transfer by German intelligence to Berlin". It briefly tells about the events already known to the reader from the previous issue of our magazine. The last sentence of that small chapter (it contains only 4 typed pages) is noteworthy :

"These are the outward circumstances of Bose's "disappearance" from India and his "unexpected" siding with fascist Germany". The words which I have marked in this quotation are placed in inverted commas by the author of the analytical survey. For the KGB, there was nothing mysterious and unexpected in Bose's disappearance from India. The thing is that the KGB knew very well who Bose was and why he found himself in Berlin.

**KEY FIGURE - BHAGAT RAM**

Perusing the documents from the KGB archives placed by the Russian Intelligence Service at the editors' disposal enables to draw an unexpected but, in my opinion, quite a well-grounded conclusion. Subhash



Chandra Bose collaborated with the British Intelligence Service. When and on what terms this started is a matter yet to be investigated. But his operating in contact with the British on the eve and during World War II is directly or indirectly confirmed by facts.

Let's start with indirect evidence. Could Subhash Chandra Bose escape on his own, without any outside aid at the very end of 1940? Probably, he could. He had enough followers in India to rely on their help. But subsequently in the wartime situation he traversed half the country, managed to get across the zone of Pushtun tribes, without a problem crossed the Indo-Afghan border and for nearly three months remained underground in Kabul, which at that time was full of British spies.

True, in all this he was receiving a lot of help from Bhagat Ram, a man who travelled all over India and had wide links in different strata of society. But it is exactly in connection with Bhagat Ram that the most serious suspicions arise as to how and why Bose found himself in Berlin. Bhagat Ram was among the most secret agents of the British Intelligence Service and he joined it not in spring of 1942, when he requested Russian intelligence to inform the British about him, but much earlier. The "legend" he presented to our intelligence officers at his recruiting sounded quite convincing. But its anti-British element seemed excessive. I would recall that one of Ram's brother was hung by colonial authorities and two other were severely prosecuted. He literally made a show of his deep hatred for the British. And such a man himself suggested cooperation with his enemies. He apparently was not embarrassed that by doing so he betrayed his friend and associate Subhash Chandra Bose and doomed to failure the course which both of them had devoted themselves to, the cause which was entrusted to them by their parties Forward Bloc and Kirti Kisan - to establish cooperation with fascist Germany in order to bring closer a British military defeat.

Thus, can one presume that they were concerned with something entirely different? Could they have

(or were given) some other task? Could they have not acted against the British, but jointly with them? If so, many points became clear. It is clear why Bose managed to escape so easily. It is clear why Bose and Ram managed to get to Kabul without a problem. At last it becomes clear why British colonial authorities kept silent for so long regarding Bose's escape. God forbid some ardent policeman or border guard would identify him and the whole plan would consequently be frustrated.



BOSE'S "CONTRIBUTION" TO ANTI-BRITISH STRUGGLE

The above mentioned plan was very circumspect and very bold. Of course, I don't have this plan in my hands. But I believe its essence to be as follows. In the person of Bose, an influential Indian politician who enjoyed tremendous authority in his motherland, whose sharp anti-British statements were widely known, the British introduced into the very heart of fascist Germany their man with a very reliable and convincing "legend". Through him they rapidly came to know about strategic and tactical German plans regarding India and the whole East, about military operations which were underway, about subversive activities and in general about the military and political conduct of the enemy. With his help (and with Bhagat Ram's active participation) they succeeded in neutralising persistent German attempts to create "a fifth column" in India - a wide network of secret and sabotage agents, to prepare a material and technical base for invading the sub continent from land and sea.

Indeed, let us consider what practical help was given by Bose to his fascist patrons, what concretely he contributed to that severe and uncompromising struggle which was so fiercely and with great losses conducted by Nazi Germany against Great Britain (of course, those losses are incomparable with the catastrophic ones suffered by Hitler at the eastern front in the war with Russia, but they were also seriously shattered the military and political foundations of the "Third Reich").

True, Bose set up in Berlin his organisation "Free India" on behalf of which he conducted anti-British radio propaganda. But who in India was able to hear programmes of the radio station whose transmitters were

located in Berlin? Bose would inquire from Bhagat Ram about the effectiveness of this work. The latter, having visited India on the instructions of German agents, would merrily report to his boss that the whole of India was sitting near radio receivers. We already know the real value of such reports. True, the Germans were happy with Bose's vigorous activities to develop an underground for espionage and sabotage in India, with his circumspect and careful preparing of a general revolt against the British. But all this was nothing but an "optical illusion", an illusion adroitly created by Soviet and British secret services.

True, Bose was knocking together an "Azad Hind Fauj" from Indian soldiers who had fought on the side of



the allies and had been taken prisoners in Africa, Malaya and Burma. But that was a sham army, serving as an exotic decoration for the Netaji, and by no means a serious force.

True, Bose regularly sent from Berlin instructions and directives to his Indian supporters on executing concrete anti-British operations. But those instructions, with the help of radio interception, were received by the Allies who owing to the same Bhagat Ram had the German ciphers and took appropriate measures.

True, Bose passed on to his German friends comprehensive reports on the military and political situation in India. But as we know, this was skilfully prepared misinformation.

In such a case, what are the practical results of Netaji's anti-British operation during the Second World War? They equal almost to nil. A. Vinogradov in his article published in "Echo of the Planet" magazine and based on Indian sources also confirms this thought. "In fact, one cannot seriously talk about any military role of "Azad Hind Fauj" (of course, neither Indian sources, nor Vinogradov regard it as conceivable that Bose cooperated with the British)

Could it be that Bose did not know anything about all this? Could he be unaware of an artfully designed net of lies and fraud which those cunning British jointly with Russians wound round him? Could it be that he didn't dare to think about Bhagat Ram's treason as a result of which his "selfless struggle" with Great Britain resembled a fight with a shadow? But he had sufficient opportunities to cross-check Bhagat Ram's messages and reports. He did have a great number of reliable communication channels with them bypassing Kabul. As far as I know he did not do that. Why?

When in spring 1943 Bose shifted to Japan there too he was more engaged in what we term window-dressing. His Army "an object of his pride - "Azad Hind Fauj" often marched barefoot, let alone with arms. But Netaji, having announced himself Head of State and Prime Minister of "Free India", as well as Defence Minister and Foreign Minister surrounded himself with an 'exorbitant suite, adjutants and servants.

I am by no means being ironical. If I correctly understand this great man, Subhash Chandra Bose had to put on the mask of an Oriental Padishah in order to make himself look important and significant in the eyes of his new bosses, the Japanese, if not by concrete activities in the struggle against the British.



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That was required to make the Japanese, as the Germans, trust him and share their plans with him.

In early 1944 the Japanese and Bose's troops embarked upon an obviously venturesome march to the North-East of India. Their goal was to seize cities of Imphal. But the British shattered the attackers. And when General Kawabe, following Prime Minister Todzio's instruction, [redacted] pretending to be utterly desperate he proposed to engage in combat.., no, not his personal "guards" consisting of 500 crack "kamikazes", but a female regiment, which provided laundry services for his soldiers.

And how should one understand the following instruction, transmitted by Bose to his followers (radio intercept of 29 January 1944): "Our teams in India must keep in mind that revolution in India should not start till we ("Azad Hind Fauj" and Japanese units - V.T.) have forced a crossing over the Brahmaputra and march to Calcutta". Didn't Bose understand that the attack at Imphal were it to be supported by an anti-British revolt in the rear, would have much more chance of success? Did he want that success and did he believe (and want!) that his "Azad Hind Fauj", supported by Japanese bayonets, reach the banks of the great Indian river Brahmaputra?

#### "TOM" SECURES BOSE'S COMMUNICATION WITH LONDON

Yes, I understand that all this is indirect evidence liable to different interpretations. Though taken together and set in a logical chain, they seem to me to speak in favour of my version, especially that self-evident fact that Bose's friend and associate Bhagat Ram was a professional British secret agent.

However, there are more weighty arguments. I have in front of me a report by a Soviet agent in Great Britain on the conference of the Secret Intelligence Service staffers which was held on the 12th of March 1943 in Oxford. It, inter-alia, informs that "at present Bose is on a German submarine en route to Japan". Indeed, as early as in 1942 the German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop agreed with the Japanese that Bose would be taken across to South East Asia. That became known from German archives after the war. The operation was executed in strict secrecy. Somehow in the region of South Africa, Bose at great risk to himself, was transferred from the German submarine to a Japanese one. Even the captains of the two submarines did not know the



name of the mysterious passenger. How come that the British learnt about that in detail and so rapidly : the conference was taking place when Bose was travelling on the German submarine.

Could Bhagat Ram have informed them ? Undoubtedly - no. It was beyond his range. And even if he had learnt something he would have immediately informed the Soviet intelligence, since that was envisaged by the procedure established in Kabul.

How then did top secret information fall into the hands of the British? There are solid grounds to suggest that they were handed over by Bose himself.

Here is another document, which is so important that I am providing a full translation.

"Top Secret"

"Zaman"

6 July 1944

#### Details of "Rom's"

Stay in Kabul from 1 - 24 May 1944

'Rom' arrived in Kabul on 1st May and appeared before the control check on the same day and had a meeting with him in the evening. To the question why he came late, 'Rom' answered that he took off from Delhi on 13 April and should have arrived in Kabul not later than 22 April, but was held up in a tribal territory because of the ailment of "Sang", and was forced to leave him behind there and then had to take Guliyam-ur-Rehman, a Communist working there on a mission of the Communist Party of India.

Guliyam-ur-Rehman had never been to Afghanistan earlier. Later 'Rom' handed over the copy of misinformation which was compiled by the British and was meant for the Germans. Also enclosed was a legend on a paper compiled also by the British as a guide with the help of which 'Rom' was to inform the Japanese about the fate of the nine agents sent to India. Besides, 'Rom' handed over to me his brother's photograph, about whom he had mentioned during the last visit and whom he also wanted to use to keep contact with us through the Germans and the Japanese.

I asked 'Rom', what was the reason for his long absence. 'Rom' explained that he was very much needed in India and only after the British established radio link with 'Tom' (Berlin) and 'Oliver' (Kabul) they and 'Rom' decided that there was no special necessity for a visit to Kabul. However, two months ago, Moscow



requested that 'Rom' be sent to Kabul, for which the Head of the British Intelligence Jenkin, replied that 'Rom' was very much required for conducting a number of operations against the Japanese. After that Moscow requested to specify these operations. Then Jenkin decided to send "Rom" to Kabul more so since the British wanted to unravel the strange behaviour of "Tom" and "Oliver" who displayed strange indifference towards their work and did not issue instructions or give answers to queries.

Then according to "Rom", Jenkin developed suspicion as to whether the Germans could guess the nature of 'Rom's' work or not. This suspicion was further reinforced by the Japanese having sent their agent to India in submarines, without any prior warning through 'Rom' and despite the fact that during the last year in December the British informed 'Tom' the addresses, to be conveyed to Bose. Concerning this business i.e. sending of Japanese agents, 'Rom' was assigned to explain to the Germans and the Japanese that he was informed about it through his own people ('Rom' should be instructed with the afore mentioned legend compiled by the British and the copy of which he handed over to us and which is enclosed)".

First of all - a few clarifications. "Zaman" - the Soviet spy Mikhail Alexandrovich Alakhverdov, who worked with Bhagat Ram, mentioned in the reports as "Rom".

Jenkin represented Secret Intelligence Service in Kabul. He maintained during the war, working contacts with our special agencies.

And now once again read carefully the report by "Zaman". From this report it is clearly understood that the British sent their wireless operator to Berlin under the code name "Tom" who provided them with an operative and independent radio link to Bose. Taking all factors into account, it is precisely through "Tom", that Bose could inform London about his departure in a submarine for Japan.

#### The Secret of Bose is Preserved in the British Archives

If my version that Subhash Chandra Bose had cooperated neither with the Germans nor with the Japanese during the Second World War but with the British proves to be correct than what does it all mean?

First of all it means a great success for the British Secret Service which got very important information through Bose about its opponent and with his help they could neutralise the dangerous plans of the



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German fascists and Japanese military relating to India.

Regarding Bose himself, the facts which emerge (if of course they are reliable facts; and how can't we have room for suspicion in such an archivally complicated affairs in which the special agencies of the greatest international super powers were involved?) force us to review this legendary personality. To my mind they supplement his mystic image of halo of martyrdom and heroism. But was it in fact easy for him who devoted all his life to the struggle against the British colonialism, to cooperate with the British? At the same turbulent time he apparently realised that fascism had become the major enemy of the entire humanity, including his beloved India.

Of course, it would have been the greatest agent. If he had gone for cooperation with the colonisers it would have been only due to ideological convictions, in the name of achieving the highest humanitarian task of saving humanity from the brown plague.

However, am I too hasty in my conclusions? Because it is still necessary to confirm the revealing circumstances once again about the mysterious period of life of Subhash Chandra Bose and strengthen it with new facts, documents and investigations.

Much, much more still remains unclear. The main secret and all details, but very important details, are kept from the public in the British Archives. Though it is important to say frankly that London does not have a monopoly in terms of being a repository of secrets about Bose. In those materials received by our Editorial Board, particularly the KGB training aid, only little has been reflected about Bose. I think we can find a lot of interesting material if we dig well into the archives of this agency. "Great Britain never had any secrets which were not known to Russians, so effective was the spying by their agents in our country" says John Costello, an English historian who is engaged in the active study of archive materials which expose the secrets of special agencies, thanks to the new policy of Glasnost in Russia.

Costello is right. In Britain at the heart of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Secret Intelligence Service, there was a brilliant team of five Soviet agents called the "Cambridge Group". Kim Philby, Donald McLean, Guy Burgess, Antony Blunt. At least since the mid 30s, this team supplied very valuable secret information to Moscow. Recently it has become known



-9-

that in parallel with this "team of five" was another important "Oxford Group" headed by a graduate of Eton College, known as Scot, whose identity has not yet been established, which also worked for the Soviets. I think the report on the meeting of SIS which was held on 12 March 1943 in Oxford, which I quoted above, was received in Moscow through this group.

As we see, the information of the KGB about who and why organised Bose's mission to Berlin, later to Tokyo, is that the Indian public is right to demand from London the publication of the secretly kept archival material, which may re-establish the whole truth about Subhash Chandra Bose. It is important to disperse legends and mysticism linked with this name. And there is a lot of

..... as a saint and in their gatherings they pray to his spirit for strengthening their will power. This was recently reported on Russian television.

Subhash Chandra Bose - is he an idol of fascists ? But this is nonsense. A person with high human ideals could not have failed to observe what fascism means in practice. Yes, he approved of the order and discipline which reigned in Germany. However he approved only of order and discipline, without which not a single human community can function normally but never approved fascist methods of implementation. Violence against individuals as well as racism preached by the fascists, and their hatred of humanity were strongly alien to that man with strong democratic convictions along the lines of Vivekananda's teachings and paternal traditions of Hinduism, high moral ideals of socialists - Utopists. If he had recognised violent methods as justified then it was exclusively in the struggle against colonialism,

The Archives, currently preserved in Britain, should give a reply about what Bose had done in Berlin and Tokyo, whether he made friendship with the fascists or led a secret but heroic war against them.

In that case, we can put a stop and close the history of his mysterious death. However, A. Raikov has portrayed an exhaustive and convincing picture about the circumstances in which this outstanding political leader of India passed away in issue No. 8 of our magazine.

I just add to what the Professor had written. Subhash Chandra Bose appealed to the Soviet Embassy in Japan for support. Here follows his letter (with English translation) as preserved in KGB archives.



-10-

'ARZI HUKUMATE AZAD HIND  
(INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF FREE INDIA)

Imperial Hotel, Tokyo  
Monday, 20 November 1944

To

His Excellency,  
Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo

Your Excellency,

Being in Tokyo, I would very much want to call on Your Excellency. Having this in mind, I set as my objective my objective to seek the support of the Soviet Government, through Your Excellency, in India's struggle for its independence.

2. The fact that we are closely linked with the Axis Powers in the common struggle against Anglo-Americans does not stop me. I am happy to state that the Axis Powers have a clear view about the peculiarities of the problems of India and that they have kindly granted formal recognition to the Interim Government of Azad Hind (Free India), for which we are grateful. Besides Japan, whose relations with the Soviet Government are of a strictly neutral character, even the German Government has fully understood our stand and fully appreciated the fact that we, Indians, are interested only in actions against Britain and America. The German Government also understood and appreciated the fact that we are not interested in actions against Soviet Russia. In fact, the activities of my organization in Europe are exclusively against the British and Americans but not against Soviet Russia. This was the basis for our cooperation with the Axis Powers in Europe and in this connection we have complete understanding and approval from the German Government and the Fascist Italian Government.

3. I am aware of the fact that there exists at present a union between the Soviet Government and the Government of Britain and USA. However, I have a fair knowledge about international politics to understand that this union cannot restrict the Soviet Government in extending support to our struggle for independence. I recall, with great pleasure, the help extended to me by the Soviet Government when I left India in 1941. I conveyed my profound gratitude to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Molotov in a letter sent from Berlin, which I hope, would have been duly received by His Excellency.

4. I am also inspired by the fact that Lenin had always supported the struggle of colonial countries for



12/13

(83)

-11-

their independence. As far as I am aware even after the demise of Lenin, the Soviet Government has not altered its policy towards the problems of the colonial countries, including India

5. Regarding my Party - Forward Bloc- I can say that at a time, when Soviet foreign policy in Europe was deplored by all parties in India during 1939-40, we were the ones, who publicly supported the Soviet foreign policy towards Germany and Finland. Moreover, we consist of the Left Wing of the national movement in India and stick to the most progressive views on socio-economic problems. Besides, on date our party is the only party in India, which leads an uncompromising struggle against British Imperialism, in cooperation with a few other revolutionary groups.

6. I would very much like to call on Your Excellency and seek the Soviet Government's assistance through Your Excellency for our struggle for independence. As regards the nature of help which the Soviet Government may like to render us this should be decided by the Soviet Government in connection with the prevailing war situation. I would only like to add that we are fully determined to make India completely free and the Governments which have recognised the Interim Government of Free India unconditionally agree with us on this issue.

Let me assure, Your Excellency, of my highest consideration and I await your early reply.

With regards,

Subhash Chandra Bose

There is a covering note to this letter from the Commissar in the State Security Department A. Langfang which was addressed to the head of the 5th Department of NKVD, Col. A. Otroshenko

" I am directing a copy of a letter (translation) from Bose, which was sent by him to the Ambassador of USSR in Japan, Mr. Y. Malik on 3rd January 1945".

Bose's appeal to the USSR Embassy remained ineffective. Why? Apparently because the Soviet security agencies, having been informed that Bose was secretly cooperating with British Secret Services, did not want to complicate relations with their allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. May be, they had different friendship of the CPSU with the Communist Party of India.

Finally, one more document available from the archives of KGB :



(13/13)

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-12-

"CERTIFICATE"

After the Japanese capitulation in the first half of September 1945, TASS quoting British sources informed from Tokyo that Subhash Chandra Bose, staying in Japan, died.

Deputy Head of IIIrd section of the Vth dept.  
1st Directorate of NKVD of USSR  
Lt. Col. Nabatnikov  
25.12.1945

For KGB, Bose's case was closed.



(88)

**No.44/Dir(EF)/94**  
**Ministry of External Affairs**  
**(Europe East Division)**

...

We have received from our Embassy in Moscow the third part of the series of articles on Netaji appearing in 'Asia and Africa Today'. Two copies are enclosed of the translation. It would be appreciated if AP Division could also keep MHA suitably informed.

(S Jaishankar)  
Director(EF)  
6.1.94

Dir(AP) Smt. P R Sharma.

7c



No.77/Dir(EF)/94  
Ministry of External Affairs  
(Europe East Division)  
(Coordination Division)  
\*\*\*

Reference Coordination Division's note No.211/Coord/94 regarding the writ petition on the awarding of Bharat Ratna to Netaji.

2. AP Division is the nodal division in the Ministry, dealing with all matters pertaining to Netaji. All information available with EE Division has already been sent to AP Division. It is, therefore, understood that AP Division would take necessary action on the request made by JS(Coord).

(S Jaishankar)  
Director(EF)  
13.1.94

Dir(AP) - Smt. P R Sharma

Copy to JS(Coord), MEA, South Block, New Delhi.

(S Jaishankar)

JS(AMS)

JS(SOUTH)



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12/11

Dy No 211/Coord/44  
NO.AA/ / /94Ministry of External Affairs  
(Coordination Division)

\*\*\*

322-EE/44 (87)  
13/11

SUB: Writ Petition No.C.O.6720(W) of 1993 filed in the Calcutta High Court by Shri Bijan Ghosh challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award posthumously to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

....

A Writ Petition No. C.O.6720(W) of 1993 has been filed by one Shri Bijan Ghosh in Calcutta High Court, challenging the declaration of Bharat Ratna Award posthumously to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose by the Union of India.

The Petitioner has filed an application before the hon. Court and has prayed to implead Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs and the case is fixed for 19.1.1994. The Ministry has decided to seek adjournment on 19.1.1994 asking for a reasonable time so as to enable the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, to prepare a Counter Affidavit for which the information is required to be collected in the Ministry and from various Missions abroad. A copy of application together with a copy of amended Writ Petition is enclosed.

Heads of concerned Territorial Divisions may kindly arrange to collect the required information and provide the same to the undersigned urgently.

Vijay Kumar

(VIJAY KUMAR)  
JOINT SECRETARY(COORD.)  
11.1.1994

WAGON

By tomorrow please.

JS(AP)

✓ JS(EE)

JS(AMS)

JS(SOUTH)

JS(EW)

JS(NE)

Dr (60)

Achim Jahan  
13/11Separate  
Copy:



(88)

Flag A

**DISTRICT : CALCUTTA**

**IN THE HIGH COURT AT CALCUTTA  
CONSTITUTIONAL WRIT JURISDICTION  
APPELLATE SIDE**

**In the Matter of :**

An application for addition of  
Parties ;

- And -

**In the Matter of :**

An application under Article 226 of  
the Constitution of India ;

- And -

**In the Matter of :**

C.O. No. 6720 (W) of 1993 ;

- And -

**In the Matter of :**

**BIRAN GHOSH ..... PETITIONER.**

- Versus -

**UNION OF INDIA AND OTHERS ..RESPONDENTS**

To  
The Hon'ble Mr. A.M. Bhattacharjee, Chief Justice and  
His Companion Justices of the said Hon'ble Court.

L 16/12  
M/24

contd....2.



-: 2 :-

The humble petition of the petitioner  
abovenamed most respectfully -

S H E E T H :

1. Your petitioner is a citizen of India and the petitioner in the above writ application pending before this Hon'ble Court.

2. The said writ petition has since been amended with the leave of this Hon'ble Court and an amended writ application verified by an affidavit affirmed on 2nd December 1993 has been filed before this Hon'ble Court on the 6th December, 1993, an advance copy thereof having been served on the respondents on or about 23rd November 1993. The said Civil Order is fixed for next hearing on the 19th January 1994.

3. In the meantime because of disclosure of certain facts referred to hereinafter in detail, it has become necessary to add the following as parties/respondents to the writ application in the ends of justice :-

(a) Secretary to the Government of India,  
Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, and

(b) Secretary to the Government of India,  
Ministry of Defence, New Delhi.

contd...3.



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-: 3 :-

(c) The Managing Editor, North Indian Patrika,  
Allahabad Patrika (P) Limited, 6, Patrika Marg,  
Allahabad.

4. Professor Samar Guha, who has been added by this Hon'ble Court as a party to the present proceedings under the order dated the 29th September, 1993, has filed an affidavit before this Hon'ble Court during the hearing of the case on 6th December 1993. In the said affidavit, the said added respondent has referred to certain correspondence between him and Shri Dinesh Singh, the Hon'ble Minister for External Affairs, Government of India, as well as between Dr. Triguna Sen and the said Hon'ble Minister. Professor Samar Guha has also referred in his affidavit to a letter received by <sup>him</sup> ~~him~~ on 20th March 1991 from Shri Digbijay Singh, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Government of India. Reference has also been made to certain specific documents relating to the disappearance and whereabouts of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who are either in the possession of or capable of being procured and produced by the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Copies of Professor Samar Guha's letter to Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr. Boris Yeltsin, the present President of the Federation of Russia, seeking information about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, have also been annexed to the said affidavit of Professor Samar Guha.

contd...4.



-: 4 :-

5. While the above-mentioned letter of Shri Digvijoy Singh contains an affirmation by the Ministry of External Affairs that the follow-up action regarding high-level investigation into secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose has already been initiated, the letter dated the 6th March 1993 of the present Minister for External Affairs addressed to Professor Samar Guha contains the following reply :-

" I entirely agree with you that the riddle about disappearance of Netaji should be solved. I can assure you we shall do everything possible in this regard. You have made suggestions which are very important and I am having the matter examined as to how best we should proceed further ".

6. Professor Samar Guha has also set out in his affidavit the following portion from a letter written to Dr. Triguna Sen by Shri Dinesh Singh, the present Minister for External Affairs, Government of India :-

" We shall carry out any directive from the President of India regarding inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. In the meantime, we shall see if we can gather some information from the Kremlin's file as suggested by you".



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✓ PND  
7. Earlier to this, Professor Samar Guha appears to have taken up the matter ~~with~~ <sup>from</sup> Shri V.P. Singh, when he was the Prime Minister,. On the 7th June, 1990 Shri V.P. Singh is stated to have addressed the following letter to Professor Samar Guha :-

" Dear Professor Guha : I have received your letter of May 17, 1990 regarding high level investigations into secret documents on disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose believed to be available in the U.S.S.R., U.K., Japan and the U.S.A.

I have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to look into this.

Regards. Yours Sincerely  
Sd/- V.P. Singh "

✓  
8. Professor Samar Guha has stated in his affidavit to have written on the subject thereafter to Shri I.K. Gujral, the then Minister of External Affairs and also discussed the matter with him. Shri Gujral is stated to have assured all efforts to contact U.S.S.R. and other concerned foreign countries.

9. Reference has been made in the said affidavit to a letter written in February 1978 by Shri W.G. Coray,

contd...6.



Page 'A'

-: 6 :-

the then Indian High Commissioner in London to Lord Mountbatten requesting him to shed some authentic light on the Netaji episode in the context of the report about his having taken asylum in 1945 in the USSR and Lord Mountbatten's reply thereto to the effect that there was no official record of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death in his archives. The said letters have also been set out in the book - "NETAJI DEAD OR ALIVE ?" by Professor Samar Guha, which forms part of the annexure to his affidavit. The said book also contains the text of a Parliament question on the above correspondence between Shri W.G. Darg and Lord Mountbatten and the reply given thereto by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, the then Minister for External Affairs, Government of India.

10. The recent publication by the Publication Divisions, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India of a book written by Dr. S.C. Malikap "Challenging to the Empire : A Study of Netaji" which was produced before this Hon'ble Court during the hearing on the 6th December 1993 to draw the attention of this Hon'ble Court to certain passage in the book bearing a clear reference to the fact of Netaji having flown to Bangkok and thence to Dairen enroute Taihaku to have his asylum in USSR and containing a clear assertion that history is yet to say anything positive about his death of having remaining alive.

contd...7.



Page "A"

- 7 -

11. The xerox copy of the letter of Sm. Khurshed Hayaji written to Mr. Louis Fischer on behalf of Gandhiji on 2nd July, 1946 annexed to the affidavit of Professor Samar Guha also goes to show that Netaji was in Soviet Russia at that time and the congress party in India was apprehensive of his coming to India with Russian help in which case the control of the political situation in the country would go out of the hands of Gandhiji and other Congress Leader. It is in the context of the above apprehension that a gesture was thrown in the said letter for England to play fair to the People of India or to be declared by Indians for ever an <sup>enemy</sup> ~~enemy~~ of India or Asiatics. Almost immediately after writing of this letter the Interim Government was installed at New Delhi leading ultimately to Transfer of Power to a partitioned India within a year thereafter. This letter is reported to be available in the archives of Princeton University in U.S.A. and has been located thereby an India research scholar, Dr. Bhairab Bhattacharya.

A true copy of the said letter is annexed hereto and marked with the letter "A".

12. The above facts find corroboration and the air crash story does not find the slightest support from the historical works on Indian Independence Movement written by two eminent Historians, namely Dr. Ramesh Chandra

contd....2.



Page 1A

- 8 -

Majumdar and Professor Amalesh Tripathi. While Dr. Majumdar draws a complete blank after the departure of the plane from Saigon, Professor Tripathi describes the rest as complete silence, as stated in paragraph 15 of the supplementary affidavit of Dr. Susanta Kumar Mitra ( respondent No. 5) filed before this Hon'ble Court on 6th December, 1983.

13. The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, should be able to enlighten on the above aspect of the case with reference to the records in their possession and/or the records which are capable of being procured by them from <sup>external</sup> ~~external~~ sources, as indicated in the above-mentioned letters referred to by Professor Samar Guha in his affidavit.

14. Dr. Susanta Kumar Mitra ( respondent No. 5) has annexed to his affidavit xerox copies of a series of articles ( 17 in number ), which appeared in the North Indian Patrika, Published from Allahabad on different dates between 20/12/1985 and 31/1/1986 under the caption " The Man of Mystery", based on an investigative inquiry conducted by two of their Journalists into the background of a nameless " Saint" having entered India from Tibet via Nepal in the year 1961 and having stayed at different places in U.P. upto the year 1985, who upon investigation was found to be no other person than Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The said articles also contain reference to a host of documents and other materials bearing identity with



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Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose including a wrist watch left behind by the said "Saint" which were inventorised by the local police in the presence of local witnesses. The said reports also point out the mysterious fact of the disappearance of the said "Saint" between the 16th and 18th September 1945, during which period he was alleged to have died, but the dead body was not shown to any person and the cremation of a completely covered dead body took place in an unusual manner under close guard by certain persons at a place on the bank of river Saraju in Faizabad (U.P.), which was not a cremation place. The placing of a completely covered dead body on the funeral pyre bears significant resemblance to the placing of the closed coffin<sup>n</sup> itself, containing the dead body of a Japanese <sup>soldier</sup> ~~soldier~~, Ichiro Okura, into the <sup>funeral</sup> ~~funeral~~ at Tapal on 20th August, 1945.

15. While the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India and the Ministry of Defence, Government of India should be able to throw light on the identity of the said "Saint" reportedly entering India from Tibet via Nepal in the year 1951 and staying in India upto the year 1985, the North Indian Patrika, which conducted the above investigation by their Journalists and published the facts in the above articles, should be able to produce the source material on the basis whereof the said "Saint" was taken to be Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

contd ....10.



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-: 10 :-

"B"

16. The Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, should also be able to throw light on the point raised in my letter dated 30 November, 1993 addressed to the Secretary of the said Ministry, written with reference to the averment made in the affidavit of Shri N.N. Vohra, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, purporting to claim privilege in respect of certain documents. A copy of the said letter dated 30 November, 1993, which will speak for itself, is annexed hereto and marked with the letter "B".

MHA

17. Your petitioner states that no reply has been received by him to the above-mentioned letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, although it is the said authority, who can give the clarification asked for in the said letter regarding the unnamed foreign nationals, who have been purported to be referred to as the wife and daughter respectively of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the said affidavit of Shri N.N. Vohra, with whom the Ministry of Home Affairs has carried on correspondence through our Embassy in Vienna on the question of Award of Bharat Ratna posthumously on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

18. In the premises, the presence of the secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi and the Managing Editor of North Indian Patrika, Allahabad Patrika (P) Limited, 6A, Patrika Marg, Allahabad, before this Hon'ble Court is necessary in order to enable this Hon'ble Court effectually and completely to adjudicate upon and settle all the questions involved



Flag 'A'

-: 11 :-

in the present writ proceedings. As will appear from the facts stated above, the said two persons are necessary and/or proper parties to the present proceedings and they should be impleaded as parties/respondents in the ends of justice.

19. This application is made bonafide and in the interest of justice.

In the circumstances your petitioner most respectfully prays Your Lordships to be graciously pleased to order that-

a) The Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, the secretary of the Government of India Ministry of Defence, New Delhi and the Managing Editor, North Indian Patrika, Allahabad Patrika (P) Limited, 6, Patrika Marg, Allahabad be added as respondents to the writ application ;

b) The said added respondents be directed to file their respective affidavit-in-opposition to the amended writ application and the affidavits filed by the respondents Nos. 3 to 5

contd....12.



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Flag 'A'

- 12 -

and to produce all relevant records  
before this Hon'ble Court.

e) Such other and/or further order  
or orders direction or directions  
as may be deemed fit and proper.

And for this act of kindness your petitioner as in duty  
bound shall ever pray.

Affidavit .....



Flag 'A'

-: 13 :-

AFFIDAVIT

I, Bihan Ghosh, son of Shri Benoy Krishna Ghosh, aged about 37 years, by occupation Advocate, practising at High Court, Calcutta, residing at B-172, B.E. College, Howrah-3, do hereby solemnly affirm and say as follows :-

1. That I am the writ petitioner and I am well acquainted with the facts and circumstances of the case.
2. That the statements made in paragraphs 1 to 3, 16 to 19 (both inclusive) are true to my knowledge, and those made in paragraphs 4 to 15, excepting last paragraph are derived from records and newspapers and rest are my humble submissions before this Hon'ble Court.

Prepared by me

Sd/- Bijan Ghosh

Sd/- Bijan Ghosh.  
The deponent

Solemnly affirmed before me

this 13<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1993.

Commissioner.



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Flag 'A'

ADVOCATE  
AT CALCUTTA  
ATTENTION ROOM NO 11  
BAR 28 3190 28 5579

20

Dated the 30th November, 1993

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi. 110 001

Re : Wife and daughter of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Dear Sir,

This is to bring to your kind notice that in an affidavit claiming privilege affirmed by Shri N.N.Vohra, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs in connection with C.O.No.6720 (W) of 1993 pending before the Hon'ble High Court at Calcutta, reference has been made to some correspondence between the said Ministry and the wife and daughter of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose through the Embassy in Vienna regarding conferment of "Bharat Ratna" on Netaji.

2. I am the petitioner in the writ application which is the subject matter of the above pending writ proceedings and a copy of the said affidavit of Shri N.N.Vohra has been served upon me in that connection. Privilege has been claimed in the said affidavit in respect of certain documents including the said correspondence between the Home Ministry and the wife and daughter of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

3. Since the said correspondence has been stated to have been routed through the Embassy in Vienna, ~~your~~<sup>si</sup> your Ministry should be in a position to enlighten me as to whether there is any documentary evidence in testimony of marriage of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and/or of his having any daughter through such marriage. In the absence of any such documentary evidence the circumstances under which such correspondence with particular residents

Contd...2

SUNDAY MORNING : NEAR AKSHAYA BIDYAPITH, NEDERPARA, KRISHNANAGAR DIAL 2129



Flag 'A'

ADVOCATE  
CALCUTTA

ON ROOM NO 11  
BAR 28 3199 28 5579

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id/or citizens of a foreign country could be entered into by the Government of India through its Embassy in Vienna by treating them as wife and daughter respectively of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose needs clarification.

4. The above information and/or clarification is necessary in order to appreciate the facts pleaded in support of the claim of privilege put forth by the Ministry of Home Affairs in respect of the said correspondence with certain persons in a foreign country over the question of conferring the title of "Bharat Ratna" on Netaji.

5. I, therefore, request you to favour me with such particulars as may be in your possession as to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose having wife and daughter outside this country and the basis on which their identity in such capacity has been recognised by your Ministry enabling the Government of India to enter into correspondence through the Embassy in Vienna with such persons on the above subject by treating them as wife and daughter respectively of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

6. A very reply is solicited.

7. This is without prejudice to all my rights and contentions in the matter, including those relating to the pending writ proceedings above refused to.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Advocate

SUNDAY MORNING : NEAR AKSHAYA BIDYAPIT

बीमा नहीं NOT INSURED		क्रमांक 3420
लगाये गये डाक टिकटों का मूल्य रु 8/-	Amount of Stamp affixed Ru 8/-	No. 3420
एक पंजीकृत प्रत प्राप्त किया	Received a Registered copy	
प्राप्त करने का नाम	प्राप्त करने वाले का नाम	डाक स्टाम्प
Addressed to	Received by	डाक स्टाम्प

Ministry of Home Affairs  
New Delhi - 1



Flag 'A'  
None

Copy of a letters from Khurshed Naoroji to Louis Fischer

22/7/46

Dear Fischer -

I enclose a copy of Gandhiji's letter, as desired by you. But please don't think that he is not with us. I have been with him since my release from prison and he put the constructive Programme before the country which was overlooked by the working Committee when they decided on constitutional methods.

Since the release of his colleagues of the Working Committee he has gone with them because they were not prepared to go with him but Gandhiji is essentially a man of action and when the time comes, he will take the country with him.

The Socialists are merely implimenting the constructive programme in the light of present circumstances, We must go to the people and forge mass sanctions. The people want to know the shape of things to come. Grouping of the provinces or the question of sovereignty does not touch them, they want a plan. Let our leaders go to the Govt. sponsored Constituent Assembly and we remain with the people to share their joys and sorrows. When the time comes we shall be one.

The Socialists do not want violence any more than does Gandhiji but what is practiced non-violence, we say nonkilling. We have to put non-violence in to practice and not just go talking of truth of non-violence. People want deals and not words. For twenty years we have talked on the ideal Govt. and the practical stage for us today is Panchayat Raj. Our people are very patient but even their patience is wearing thin. All Congress and the nationalist minded people are one but our headache is the Indo-Anglo-Russians. The foreign Govt. has built them up to fight the Congress and will have to deal with them now. They are going underground and if before the time the Allies (excluding Russia), have a scrap with Soviet Russia, India is not satisfied



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Flag 'A'

-2-

with the results of the Constituent Assembly. She will go over entirely and absolutely to the enemies of the Allies. The Indian army (not the Indian National Army) is no longer of the same temper as it was in the first world war. Besides the disaffection amongst the Indian officers and the rank and file, a revolutionary group has been working amongst them and they are pro-Russian. There have been many cases a court martial in the Indian army on individuals and platoons during the last war both in India and abroad. There have been mass desertions in the regular army and minor reaps in the N.W.F. Province at the beginning of the last war.

At heart the Indian army is sympathetic with the Indian National Army. If Bose comes with the help of Russia neither Gandhiji nor the Congress will be able to reason with the country. Also Russia for propaganda purposes declares itself an Asiatic country then there is no hope of any European alliance acceptable to India. Freedom for India under the aegis of Soviet Russia is no freedom for us: but it now rests with England to play fair by the people of India or be declared by us for ever as the enemy of India and of the Asiatics. There are other groups in north India pro-Russian, but after Russia joined the Allies they lost caste. However the bitterness towards the English is so great that Russia will again come into favour on the event of any disagreement amongst the Allies.

Gandhiji is not touched with the international reactions but we can't afford to neglect the signs of the time specially when it concerns our freedom.

Yours,  
Khurshed



Page A

DISTRICT : CALCUTTA

IN THE HIGH COURT AT CALCUTTA  
Constitutional Writ Jurisdiction  
Appellate Side

In the matter of :

An application for addition of parties;

- And -

In the matter of :

BIJAN GHOSH ..... PETITIONER.

- Versus -

UNION OF INDIA AND OTHERS.

... RESPONDENTS.

P E T I T I O N

BIJAN GHOSH  
Advocate  
Bar Association Room No. 11,  
High Court, Calcutta.



**S Jaishankar**  
**Director(EE)**

No.WI/411/5/93-EE

January 13, 1994

Dear Shri Haer,

Please refer to the fax No.MOS/ISI/FAX-01/94 from Counsellor(Inf) enclosing an article on Netaji published in 'Asia and Africa Today'. The translation of the article was submitted to FS who directed that our Mission in Moscow point out to the Russians that the kind of accusation made in the article against a respected national leader of India being published is objected to by India. I am directed to convey that this be taken up with the Russian authorities in appropriate terms.

We would appreciate confirmation of the action taken by the Mission.

Yours sincerely,

(S Jaishankar)

**Shri P S Haer**  
**Charge d'Affaires a.i.**  
**Embassy of India**  
**Moscow.**

Copy to Director(AP) - Smt. P R Sharma, MEA,  
Room No. 268-B, South Block, New Delhi.

(S Jaishankar)

Recd  
13/1/94



(107)

Dy. No. 229/Dir.(EE)

G-1929

SECRET/MOST IMMEDIATE

411/5/93

Date: 18/3/94



Ajai Malhotra  
Counsellor (Information)

301/US(EE)/44

9-3-94

EMBASSY OF INDIA

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW

Telephone No. 297-08-20  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU

S/378-EE/44

4/3

No.MOS/POL/303/2/93

21 February 1994

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5/3/94

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vile(t)

Kindly refer to correspondence resting with Director(EE)'s letter No. WI/411/5/93-EE dated 13 January 1994 concerning an article on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose published in the journal "Asia and Africa Today".

2. As would be seen from Ambassador's letter No. MOS/AMB/818/93 of 24 June 1993 and MOS/AMB/853/93 of 2 July 1993, prior to the publication of the articles on Netaji in "Asia and Africa Today", this Mission had contacted Mr. V.K. Tourajev ( Deputy Editor-in-Chief of that journal and author of the final two articles on Netaji) and had sought to dissuade him from publishing the same. As conveyed vide my note of 30 June 1993, Tourajev was, however, of the view that the articles made Netaji "go up in his esteem" since they showed Netaji as being an "even greater nationalist" as Netaji had "striven for an independent India, rather than an India subservient to Germany or Japan".

3. After receipt of Director(EE)'s letter on 20 January 1994, I made several attempts to meet Tourajev so as to appropriately convey the point made in Director(EE)'s letter. Tourajev has, however, been ill and has of late not been attending office. Meanwhile, Ambassador has last week drawn the attention of Mr. Kotov, Head of the South West and South Asia Directorate, MFA, to the articles in "Asia and Africa Today", especially in issue No. 10/93 pointing out that the kind of accusations made in that article were objected to by India. While taking note of the point made by Ambassador, Kotov indicated that given the present democratic system in Russia and the freedom of its press, the Russian Federation Government had no control over what is published in local journals/newspapers. Such a response was not unexpected, as would be seen from para 4 of Ambassador's letter of 24 June 1993.



SECRET

(108)

: 2 :

4. The above is for your present information. I shall also duly convey our concern to Tourajev as soon as his health improves and he returns to office.

*with warm regards,*

Yours sincerely,

*A Malhotra*  
( Ajai Malhotra )

Shri R.L. Narayan,  
Joint Secretary(EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi





Dy. No. 234/Dir.(EE)4

Dated 17/3/94

Ajai Malhotra  
Counsellor (Information)

No.MOS/POL/303/2/93

SECRET MOST IMMEDIATE

EMBASSY OF INDIA,

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha  
MOSCOW

Telephone No. 297-08-20  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU

4 March 1994

My dear RL,

Kindly refer to the last paragraph of my letter of even number dated 21 February 1994 concerning the article on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose published in Issue No. 10/93 of the journal "Asia and Africa Today".

2. I today met Mr. Tourajev, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of "Asia and Africa Today", and conveyed to him that the kind of accusations published in the article on Netaji in Issue No. 10/93 of his journal were objected to by India. Tourajev took note of this. However, as during our previous meeting on 29 June 1993, he reiterated that the contents of the article made Netaji go up in his esteem as it showed him as having contributed to the defeat of fascism. He added that in the Russian perception this enhanced Netaji's prestige, since Russia had suffered many million deaths in their struggle against Hitler's fascists. He insisted that the intention behind his article was certainly not to denigrate Netaji.

3. From the ensuing discussion it also emerged that "Asia and Africa Today" would publish, possibly in its July 1994 issue, an article devoted to the Japanese military advance towards Kohima during the Second World War and Netaji's role in those events. That article would be authored by Prof. Raikov who had written the first article on Netaji published in the August 1993 issue of "Asia and Africa Today". Tourajev assured me that the forthcoming article was of a purely historical nature and contained no controversial elements whatsoever.

4. At the same time, Tourajev added that he was hopeful that material on Netaji's stay in Berlin might become available from KGB archives. He mentioned that he had secured "first rights" to see such material and publish about its contents. This archival material was, however, yet to be located.



5. Tourajev also mentioned that the Moscow correspondent of "The Guardian" newspaper published from London had been keen to translate and reproduce his article from the 10/93 issue of "Asia and Africa Today". However, "The Guardian" Head Office gave an extremely cold response to the proposal and ultimately nothing materialised.

*Warm regards,*

Yours sincerely,

*Ajmal*  
( Ajai Malhotra )

Shri R.L. Narayan,  
Joint Secretary(EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi





R. L. Narayan,  
Joint Secretary (EE)

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011

No.S-2524-JS(EE)/94

March 17, 1994.

My dear Ajai,

Thank you for your letter No.MoS/Pol/303/2/93 of 4th March, 1994 regarding your meeting with Tourajev of "Asia and Africa Today". I think that you have made sufficient efforts with Tourajev, who appears to be an unreconstructed radical and that we can now let the matter rest.

2. However, you would no doubt keep Tourajev's attitude in mind if and when we receive any request for financial support, special issues, advertisement assistance, etc. from "Asia and Africa Today".

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

(R. L. Narayan)

Shri Ajai Malhotra,  
Counsellor (Information),  
Embassy of India,  
Moscow.





V.K. JAIN

विशेष सचिव  
SPECIAL SECRETARY

SECRET / MOST IMMEDIATE

D.O.No.I/12014/27/93-IS (D.III)

भारत सरकार

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

गृह मंत्रालय

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

New Delhi-110001

March 18, 1994.

38491487  
1813/94  
S-2684  
213

Mc add to prev  
1/18/94  
25/5/94

Dear Shri Srinivasan,

In continuation of correspondence resting with the Ministry of External Affairs regarding articles reported to have been published in a magazine 'Asia and Africa Today' in Moscow in September-October, 1993, on the subject of Netaji's death, his ashes and his alleged role as an MI-6 agent.

2. Ministry of Home Affairs is of the view that MEA should critically analyse the various diplomatic options available in this regard, including the option of asking the Government of Russia to authenticate the factual position from their own records and MEA's assessment on the likely response from the Russian Government. It would be fruitful if the Government of Russia could be persuaded to keep the publicity on a low profile.

3. While initiating action on the above suggestions, diplomatic implications as well as bilateral relations with Russian Government may be kept in view.

4. I shall be grateful for your kind advice in the matter by 22 March 1994.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

( V.K. Jain )

Shri K. Srinivasan,  
Foreign Secretary,  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.



~~SECRET~~



R.L. Narayan  
Joint Secretary (EE)

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011

No. S-2684/JS(EE)/94

24 March, 1994

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Your DO No. I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) of 18 march, 1994 regarding articles published in the Russian magazine 'Asia and Africa Today' on the subject of Netaji.

2. We have spoken to the Russian Embassy number 2 and put across our views in the matter. The note recorded by me is enclosed. This makes it clear that the Russian Government is not aware of any facts which substantiate the allegations made in the magazine.

3. Our Embassy in Moscow has earlier taken up this matter both with the author himself as well as with the Foreign Office. The latter's response has been that the Russian press is free and not amenable to government control.

4. On the other hand, in MEA's view one need not overreact to the publication of such allegations. The last instalment of the three part article has been published in November 1993 and as far as we are aware, there has been no publicity either in Russia or India. Tourajev has told our Embassy that he has no plans to write any further articles unless new archival material becomes available to him from KGB archives. Another professor, Riakov, is planning to write an article on the Japanese military advance towards Kohima during the World War II and Netaji's role in those events. We have, however, been told that this article will be purely of a historical nature and will not contain any controversial elements whatsoever.

5. While 'Asia and Africa Today' was substantially subsidised in the Soviet era, it has now fallen on financially hard times. Its circulation is just a few thousands and is largely confined to academic institutes. In view of this, I think we can let this matter rest for the present.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

*R.L. Narayan*  
(R.L. Narayan)

Shri V.K. Jain  
Special Secretary  
Ministry of Home Affairs  
New Delhi.

Copy to Shri Ajai Malhotra, Counsellor (Inf),  
Embassy of India, Moscow, with enclosure.



same by *hundreds* *times*  
14-25/3  
US (22/3)  
SU (22)

44/5/93  
29/6/8  
25/3  
94  
(114)

The last enquiry from India regarding the fate of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was received by the Russian side in November 1992. Prof. Samar Guha in his letter dated 19.11.92 and addressed to the President of Russia Mr. Boris N. Yeltsin claimed that after the defeat of Japan in 1945, "Mr. S.C. Bose found refuge in Russia" and appealed to "disclose all the truth" relating to the "stay" of the latter in Russia.

After the relevant information was collected in Moscow from various archives and governmental departments the applicant was informed by the Russian Consulate-General in Calcutta in April 1993 that according to the data of the central archives of the former USSR and the Russian archives no evidence of stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 or subsequent years had been found.

This information was also conveyed to the Embassy of India in Moscow vide Note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation No. 2/10a dated 8.01.92 in response to the earlier enquiry of the Embassy.

copy  
sent  
- 14/6/3





Dy. No. 461/ Dir. (EE) 4

Date

D.O. No. I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III)

5-3586 IS (EE) 3  
22/4/94

SECRET

मुख्य सचिव

HOME SECRETARY

भारत सरकार

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

New Delhi,

April 20, 1994.

no reports in  
English or vernacular  
languages by Russian  
organisations, or  
Russian Embassies  
abroad. Pl  
ask or Russian to  
request. 1/22/94

22/4  
conveyed to Government  
letter issued  
22/4

My dear Sir,

This is further to d.o. letter No. I/12014/27/93-IS(D.III) of March 1994 from V.K. Jain, Special Secretary, to your address and MEA's d.o. letter No.S-2684/JS(EE)/94 dated 24th March, 1994 from R.L. Narain, Joint Secretary(EE) regarding articles published in the Russian magazine "Asia and Africa Today" concerning Netaji.

2. We agree that as the publication of the controversial articles has not so far evoked much publicity in Russia or India, there is no need of immediate action by way of damage control. The position at our end could be vastly different if these or fresh articles of a similar nature were to be published in India. It is, therefore, necessary that such an eventuality must be fore-stalled. We would appreciate if MEA takes up the matter with the Russian authorities at an appropriate high level to invoke their good offices in effectively ensuring against such a possibility.

Regards

Yours sincerely,

*N.N. Vohra*

( N.N. Vohra )

Shri K. Srinivasan,  
Foreign Secretary,  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.





Dy. No. 461/Dir.(EE)85

Dated 27/5

411/3/54  
Secy

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-11

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011R L Narayan  
Joint Secretary(EE)

डायरी सं०

Dy. No. 577/US(EE)/94

दिनांक

No.S-3886/JS(EE)/94 Date 4-5-94

25 April, 1994

My dear Ajai,

Reference your earlier correspondence regarding the article on Netaji in 'Asia & Africa Today'. We had taken up the matter with the Ministry of Home Affairs who have agreed that, as the publication of the controversial articles has so far not evoked much publicity in Russia or India, there is no need for further immediate action by way of damage control. However, the position at our end would be very different if these or fresh articles of a similar nature were to be published in India. It is therefore necessary that such an eventuality must be forestalled. MHA have asked us to take up the matter with the Russian authorities at an appropriately high level to invoke their good offices in effectively ensuring against such a possibility. I would be grateful if you could do the needful, particularly impressing upon the Russian Foreign Office that they should ensure that no reprints in English or vernacular languages are permitted by Russian organisations in India or by Russian Embassies abroad. I have already done so with the Russiaon No. 2 here.

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

12-  
(R L Narayan)

Shri Ajai Malhotra  
Counsellor(Information)  
Embassy of India  
Moscow.



JUL 20 '93 19:01

27-77-JSE 28/92 JS(EE)

FAX 21/7 JS(EE) from Dir (X) F. PL

ZCZC

PRI TR3 PIP

CALCUTTA FET291

FETCHED CMM OF JUL19

NETAJI

MORE FACTS ABOUT NETAJI'S MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE

CALCUTTA, JULY 19 (PTI) STARTLING FACTS ABOUT NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S STAY IN THE ERSTWHILE SOVIET UNION HAVE BEEN REPORTEDLY BROUGHT TO LIGHT, GIVING A NEW TWIST TO THE MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE OF THE PATRIOT DURING THE FAG END OF THE WORLD WAR II.

A THREE-MEMBER TEAM OF RESEARCH SCHOLARS, SENT TO RUSSIA BY THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA — DR. (IRS) PURABI ROY, PROFESSOR OF RUSSIAN STUDIES, DR. SOBHANLAL DUTTA GUPTA

DR. HARI VASUDEVAN — SUBMITTED REPORTS TO THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY IN DELHI EARLY THIS MONTH AFTER THEIR STAY ON SOME 'CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS' IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IN MOSCOW REGARDING NETAJI, SOCIETY SOURCES SAID.

DECLINING TO DIVULGE DETAILS OF CONTENT OF THEIR REPORTS, THE SOURCES TOLD PTI THAT NETAJI WAS IN RUSSIA TILL THE END OF THE WAR "AND HE WAS PUT INTO PRISON LATER", AS WAS SUBMITTED IN THE SCHOLARS' REPORT.

THE SCHOLARS WENT TO STUDY IN RUSSIAN ARCHIVES AS PER A PROTOCOL UNDER THE PROVISION OF ARTICLE 32 OF THE INDO-RUSSIAN CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMME WHICH WAS SIGNED IN MARCH, 1994, BETWEEN THE ASIATIC SOCIETY AND RUSSIAN FEDERATION FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH ON INDO-RUSSIAN RELATION IN THE LAST 500 YEARS, MORE PTI FB SER 54

071918 D

FINNN

TELEGRAPH SECTION

21/7/93 11:15

(112)

We spoke  
Th 21/7  
OSD 6:50 AM

JS(EE)  
Th  
7/8  
Dir (X)  
AV  
7/8  
Sec



2020

PRI PIP TR3

CALCUTTA FET292

FETCHED ON 2 OF JUL 19

NETAJI TWO

ACCORDING TO THE SOCIETY SOURCES, IT WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN FURNISHED IN THE INDIAN SCHOLARS' REPORTS TO THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY THAT NETAJI WAS 'ALIVE TILL 1950 IN THE ERSTWHILE USSR'.

"THE RESEARCH SCHOLARS HAVE DEFINITE INFORMATION ABOUT NETAJI'S STAY IN THE FORMER USSR FOR SOME TIME AT THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR", THE SOURCES SAID, ADDING THAT THE SCHOLARS WERE NOT NOT 'ALLOWED' TO GO THROUGH ALL THE DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO NETAJI,

THE SCHOLARS, THE SOURCES SAID, WERE SENT TO MOSCOW TO STUDY 'MANY EPISODES' ON INDO-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP.

ACCORDING TO THE SOURCES, THE SOCIETY'S GENERAL SECRETARY, DR. CHANDAN ROYCHOWDHURY, HELD A MEETING WITH THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER, MR. PRANAB MUKHERJEE, WHO EARLIER MET THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. P. V. NARASIMHA RAO, ON JULY 17 IN DELHI "PRESUMABLY TO DISCUSS THE RESEARCH SCHOLARS' REPORTS". THE INDIAN EMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW, DR. MANEN SEN, WAS ALSO SUMMONED TO DELHI, THE SOURCES SAID.

THE SOCIETY AUTHORITIES ONLY SAID "THIS STUDY MAY REVEAL SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ABOUT NETAJI'S LINK WITH THE SOVIET UNION. NOTHING CONCLUSIVE CAN BE SAID ABOUT THESE SUBJECTS AT THE STAGE OF RESEARCH. THE SOCIETY, HOWEVER, WILL WELCOME ANY INFORMATION ON THE INDO-RUSSIAN RELATION FOR THE PERIOD UNDER ITS STUDY". MORE PTFI PB SER 5.1

071 91922 D

NNNN



PRI PDF TR3

CALCUTTA FET 293

FETCHED CNB3 OF JUL 19

NETAJI THREE LAST

THE 500 YEARS OF INDO-RUSSIAN RELATION HAVE BEEN DIVIDED INTO FOUR PERIODS PRE-19TH CENTURY, 19TH CENTURY, YEARS BETWEEN 1900 AND 1917 AND 1917 TO 1947. SO FAR, WORK ON 19TH CENTURY HAS BEEN COMPLETED.

THE RUSSIAN SCHOLARS ARE STUDYING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1900 AND 1917 AND THE INDIAN SCHOLARS, 1917 TO 1947. "A LOT OF INFORMATION ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF INDO-RUSSIAN RELATIONSHIP, LIKE LINK OF M N ROY, ABANI MUKHERJEE, MAHENDRA PRATAP AND OTHER INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS' LINK WITH THE ERSTWHILE SOVIET UNION. THE ROLE OF COMMINTERN HAS BEEN COLLECTED BY THE RESEARCH SCHOLARS WHO MAY THROW NEW LIGHT ON THE INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT AND THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY IN THIS REGARD.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY SOURCES, HOWEVER, SAID THAT THE INDIAN RESEARCHERS HAD BEEN ASKED TO PROCURE 'PROPER PERMISSION FROM THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO HAVE MORE STUDIES INTO THE ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS'.

THE RESEARCHERS WERE ALSO BELIEVED TO HAVE COLLECTED 'SOME INPUTS' THAT WOULD 'RAISE DOUBTS ABOUT NETAJI'S DEATH IN AIR CRASH IN TAIHOKU IN 1945', THE SOURCES SAID.

(THE SOURCES PREFERRED ANONYMITY AND PLEADED FOR CONFIRMATION OF THE THREE-MEMBER RESEARCHERS' REPORTS SUBMITTED TO THE EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY IN DELHI ON THEIR RETURN FROM RUSSIA RECENTLY. PTI PB SBR SKL

07 91926 D

12/11/77

119





M. Ganapathi  
Minister(Pol)

MOS/POL/125/1/90

भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Poly  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 917-0820  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU  
Tele Fax-9752337

September 29, 1995

Kindly refer to your fax No.4360/JS(EA)/95 dated September 18, 1995 forwarding a report which had appeared in the "Pioneer" of September 14, 1995 on papers relating to Netaji. Ambassador had taken up this issue with the Foreign Office here in July 1995 and copies of the note verbale and Ambassador's letter to JS(EE) in this regard is enclosed for your information.

Yours sincerely,

(M. Ganapathi)

Shri T.C.A. Rangachari,  
Joint Secretary(EA),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

Copy with a copy of fax under reference for information to  
Shri R.L. Narayan, Joint Secretary(EE), Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.

(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister(Political)





सत्यमेव जयते

**MFAX - 465**

(121) 1/2 19163

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली-११  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI-110011

*D.C.M.*

F A X

No. 4360 /JS(EA)/95

18 September, 1995

From: Foreign New Delhi

To: Indembassy Moscow

Deputy Chief of Mission from JS(EA)

*May pl discuss.*

*min(1)*

*25/9*

ANNEXED IS A PTL REPORT WHICH APPEARED IN PIONEER  
of 14 September.

2. Would appreciate any comments you may have which  
could be sent by Day, if necessary.

*(T.C.A. Rangaiah)*

JOINT SECRETARY (HA)

*C H R*

*f*

*ng*



2/1

2/2

(122)

The Pioneer

14. 9. 1995

# Papers relating to Netaji in KGB archives?

PTI

Calcutta

SEVERAL DOCUMENTS relating to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his mysterious disappearance are still lying in the inaccessible archives of the disbanded KGB and in the official archives of the Russian president in Kremlin.

Special permission of the Russian Government is required to scrutinise them and it is believed that examination of these documents may eventually unravel the mystery behind Netaji's disappearance at the end of the World War II, according to three scholars of the Asiatic Society who recently visited some of the 10 archives in Moscow under an

Indo-Russian cultural agreement.

Dr Purabi Roy (Jadavpur University), Dr Hari Vasudevan and Dr Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta (University of Calcutta) visited the Asiatic Society as part of the cultural agreement signed between the Asiatic Society and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow, to compile accessible materials pertaining to the Indo-Russian relations during 1917 and 1947.

They told newsmen here that they faced "utmost" difficulty in studying the available documents in the archives.

Since the available documents relating to Indian history were mostly in "disarray," the archives in the KGB office and in the President's archive in Kremlin are expected to reveal the hitherto unknown facts about

Netaji, they felt.

Asiatic Society general secretary Chandan Roychowdhury said the Prime Minister would be moved to request the Russian President to allow Indian scholars to Kremlin and also in the KGB Moscow for collecting more information about Indian leaders.

The scholars, who spent about \$ 6,000 dollars to get access to the archives in Moscow, said that in most cases, they were not allowed to study the required files and documents. The problems were further accentuated due to 'restriction' imposed by a section of officials of the Indian embassy in Moscow, they alleged.

On the revealing facts about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, they said that documents at the archives of the External Affairs

Ministry of the Russian federation indicated that Russian agent V G Sayadyant, who was allowed to function in India by the British Government, carried a letter from Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in August, 1946 to Moscow on way to about Netaji's whereabouts, men-

Moreover, the scholars quoted an article of V Turadnov, a sub-editor of *Asia and Africa Today*, found among the archival materials, to say that the Russian agent sought to convey the message to Moscow in September, 1946, that the Soviets might have to contact "Forward Bloc as one of the major political parties in India and its leader Subhas Chandra Bose". These references pointed to Netaji being alive even in 1946, the scholars said.

Dir. (F&I)

JS/EA

2/18/9



278-EE/96

16/1

P-1/3

100A-124

13-10-95

CRASH

CRASH

CRASH

(123)

TELEX/TELEFAX

From : Indembassy, Moscow

To : EAM's Office, New Delhi (11-3011463)

Shri D.B. Venkatesh Varma, APS to EAM from Minister (Pol)

Faxed below is the letter No. 2/YuA of January 8, 1992, in its original Russian and rough translation, on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

(M. Ganapathi)  
Minister (Pol)  
13/10/95

Pl. keep complete.

12/1

Di (1/22) PE put on file

15/1

sah

9/10/11/11



124 - P-2/3

(124)

(rough translation)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Russian Federation

No. 2/YuA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to the Embassy of Republic of India and with reference to the Embassy's Note dated 16 September 1991, has the honour to inform that according to the data in the Central and Republican Archives, no information whatsoever is available on the stay of the former President of Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, in the Soviet Union in 1945 and thereafter.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy the assurances of its highest consideration.

Moscow  
8 January 1992

Embassy of the  
Republic of India  
Moscow



МИНИСТЕРСТВО ИНОСТРАННЫХ ДЕЛ  
РОССИЙСКОЙ ФЕДЕРАЦИИ

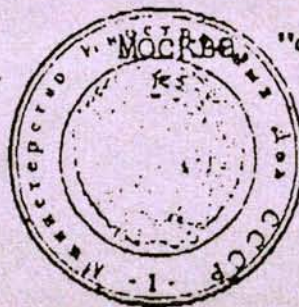
124 - P-3/3

(125)

No. 2 / ЮА

Министерство иностранных дел Российской Федерации свидетельствует свое уважение Посольству Республики Индии и, ссылаясь на ноту Посольства от 16 сентября 1991 года, имеет честь сообщить, что по данным центральных и республиканских архивов каких-либо сведений о пребывании в Советском Союзе в 1945 и последующие годы бывшего президента Индийского национального конгресса Нетаджи Субхаш Чандра Боса не имеется.

Министерство пользуется случаем, чтобы возобновить Посольству уверения в своем высоком уважении.



"8" января 1992 года

ПОСОЛЬСТВУ РЕСПУБЛИКИ

ИНДИИ

г. Москва



1027 - EE) 42 27/2 838/JS(EE)/96 24/2 (126)

Intervention by H.E. Mr. Anatoly M. Drukov,  
Ambassador of Russia in India during the  
press-conference on the 21.02.96 in  
the Foreign Correspondents' Club

In Russia as well as in the erstwhile Soviet Union Subhash Chandra Bose is deeply honoured as one of the most outstanding sons of friendly Indian people, who dedicated his whole life to the liberation of India.

We extend great respect, understanding and attention to those actions aimed at finding out true circumstances of his demise.

Along with this, being a foreigner, I can speak about the matters concerning my country only. And now I can only reiterate what my Government has already said in the verbal note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation No 73/YuA dated October 27, 1995 as a reply to the request of the Indian Government:

"As a result of the investigations carried out at the collections of the Central Archives of the Federal Security Service of Russia and of the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History, there was found no information on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the erstwhile USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years".

I realise that on the centenary anniversary of Subhash Chandra Bose too much emotion appears among the representatives of different strata of Indian society.

Hence I would rather avoid any additional comments on the subject.

Thank You.

6 AM may wish to see remarks of Russian Ambassador  
on 21 Feb 96. AP 24/2

EAM PG 24/2

AR 24/2





(27) 3968/JSLEE/76  
1971

7060/EA/196  
157/11/96

# THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

Founded in 1784

(An Institution of National Importance declared by an Act of Parliament)

1, Park Street, Calcutta-700 016

(127)

Prof. Anil K. Sarkar  
General Secretary (Acting)

Date : November 1971

Dear Dr. Gujral,

The Asiatic Society is grateful to you for your prompt reaction for inclusion of the suggested items in the proposed cultural agreement with Armenia as well as for pursuing the matter relating to collaborative studies with Portugal.

Being encouraged by your sympathy and support we are now approaching you for a different matter related to Cultural Exchange Agreement between Government of India and Government of Russia following which the Asiatic Society entered an agreement with the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. This bilateral agreement between the Asiatic Society and the Institute of Oriental Studies in bringing out a volume relating to Indo-Russian Relations for the period from 1917-47 based on archival documents available in different archives of Russian Federation which remained closed for a considerable period. On the basis of this agreement Asiatic Society deputed three scholars - Dr. Purabi Chatterjee, Sovan Lal Dutta Gupta and Dr. Harivasudevan to collect materials from the different archives of Russian Federation. They have collected huge important and valued materials. They have been stuck up for the concluding part of their work because of denial of access to the President's Archive, Ministry of Foreign Security Service and the Archives of Army General Staff. We approached your predecessor in office, for taking the matter with the Russian Government so that our scholars be permitted to get access to those Archives. We have not been favoured with any response.

We would, therefore, urge upon you kindly to take the matter with the Russian Government so that the scholars of Asiatic Society can get access to the archives for research purposes in order to complete the assignment entrusted to them in terms of cultural agreement with the Government of India and the Government of Russia.

We shall appreciate an early action in this matter as the project has to be completed within a definite time frame.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Anil K. Gujral  
Minister In-charge of  
External Affairs  
Govt. of India  
South Block  
New Delhi - 110001

(Anil K. Sarkar)



~~SECRET~~

No. 7-32 /JS(EE)/96  
Ministry of External Affairs  
(Europe East Division)

128

Reference letter addressed to EAM from the Acting General Secretary of the Asiatic Society, placed below at FR, requesting MEA to take up with the Russian Government the issue of access to certain archives for research purposes.

2. By way of background, it may be mentioned that the Asiatic Society and the Russian Oriental Institute had entered into a cooperative agreement for facilitating research into Indo-Russian relations. The Asiatic Society had thereafter sent a three-member team to Moscow to gather information relating to Indo-Russian relations from 1917-47. The Asiatic Society feels that, in order to complete this research, they would need access to the Presidential Archives, the Archives of the Foreign Security Service and the Archives of the Army General Staff.

3. It would not be appropriate for us as a Government to seek access to these archives. The Presidential Archive contains the proceedings of Politburo meetings. The Archives of the Foreign Security Services are part of the KGB Archives. The Archives of the Army General Staff are also security and intelligence related archives.

4. Access to these archives has been given by the Russian Government on a highly selective basis to one or two reputed scholars, like the Russian historian, General Volkogonov, and the US academic, Richard Pipes, who have thereafter published works on Lenin (and Stalin) based on this material. The main purpose of these works has been to directly implicate these founders of the USSR, Lenin in particular, with the terror of the Soviet period. These biographies, therefore, serve a definite political purpose as far as the present Russian Government is concerned.

10/01/97  
relevant  
9/6

10/1/59  
Sn A

Thanks  
AY  
13/6

10/1/59



5. Obviously, no Government in the world can be expected to throw open its secret archives for general research, on the basis suggested by the Asiatic Society. Equally, it would not be appropriate for the Government of India to seek access to these archives, which have not been declassified so far. We would, if nothing else, be embarrassed were a similar request, on the basis of reciprocity, to be made to us by the Russian Government at a later stage.

6. It may also be mentioned that, after the Asiatic Society scholars had returned from Moscow last year, they had given interviews to the Indian press indicating that, on the basis of the archives which they had examined, they had found evidence that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was alive in the Soviet Gulag after the air crash in which it is generally accepted that he died in 1945. This led to questions in our Parliament. At that time, we had again taken up the question of Netaji's supposed survival with the Russian Government. The Russian Government had, formally and in writing, reiterated what they had told us earlier, namely that there is no evidence whatsoever in their archives to support any speculation regarding Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union after 1945.

7. In view of the above background, it may be safely surmised that the Asiatic Society wants access to these secret archives essentially in order to go on a fishing expedition in search of material on Netaji, which, its scholars have convinced themselves, exists in these archives. Indeed, Shri Pradip Bose, who is a relative of Netaji, had written to the former PM last year seeking access to these archives precisely in order to further such research. These papers, which are held in NGO, are placed below at flags "A" and "B" respectively.

8. Our seeking to obtain access to these classified archives on behalf of the Asiatic Society, after the Russian Government has repeatedly and formally told us that they have no evidence of Netaji having been in the Soviet Union after 1945 can therefore be easily misunderstood by the Russian side. From the present perspective of Indo-Russian relations, such a request would serve no positive purpose, but could well have a negative impact. In any case, it would not be appropriate for the Government of India to seek access



~~SECRET~~

to these highly classified and security and intelligence related documents, based on nothing more substantial than an Agreement between two non-governmental organisations.

9. In response to the present letter to EAM, we may advise the Asiatic Society to continue to seek access to these archives through the Institute of Oriental Studies, their counterpart organisation in Russia. This letter could issue at my level.

R. L. Narayan  
(R.L. Narayan)  
Joint Secretary (EE)  
18.11.1996

P. V. Narayan  
19/11

ES

EAM

25/11

ES

JS(EE)

Letter to Mr. Sarma of Asiatic Society issued. Copy is placed below.

13 -  
26/11/96

AW(40)

JS

4075/JS(EE) - S.No - 28

S.N. 29

S.N. 30

Added  
Added  
Added

T-476/PS/96  
19/11/96

T-186/ES/96  
20/11/96

T-484/PS/96  
26/11

T-3A/JS(EE)/96  
26/11/96



JS (EE) has denied to see this file  
submitted by

(W)  
21/2/97

hired  
21/4/92

Sc(N 90)  
JS(EE)





28

विदेश मंत्रालय, नई दिल्ली  
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
NEW DELHI

132

Immediate

R.L. Narayan  
Joint Secretary (EE)  
Phone 3015061

No. 4075 JS(EE)/96

26 November, 1996

Dear Prof. Sarkar,

Please refer to your letter No.14998 dated 15 November, 1996, addressed to the External Affairs Minister, regarding the research project on Indo-Russian relations for the period 1917-47 which is being undertaken by the Asiatic Society in cooperation with the Russian Institute of Oriental Studies.

You have mentioned in your letter that, in order to conclude their work, the scholars of the Asiatic Society would require access to the President's Archives, the Archives of the Foreign Security Service and the Archives of the Army General Staff. These are essentially intelligence and security related archives which have not been declassified.

You may like to continue to make efforts to obtain access to information on Indo-Russian relations through your counterpart organisation, the Russian Institute of Oriental Studies.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

*R.L. Narayan*

0/C (R.L. Narayan)

Prof. Anil K. Sarkar,  
The Asiatic Society,  
1, Park Street,  
Calcutta-700 016



3  
(✓)  
(133)

Directorate of Foreign Relations  
Ministry of Defence of the  
Russian Federation

March 20, 1997

N 547

The Directorate of Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation presents its compliments to you and has the honour to forward herewith the letter of Mr. L. Joychandra Singh addressed a second time to the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation.

In reply to this repeated query, the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence (CAMD) of the Russian Federation has pointed out that there is no other data relating to the fate of Subhash Chandra Bose besides the information conveyed to you vide letter No.1843 dated October 28, 1996 (enclosing No.2/22672 of the CAMD).

We request you to kindly inform Mr. L. Joychandra Singh of the above reply from the Archives.

The Directorate of Foreign Relations of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Military Wing of the Embassy of India in Moscow the assurances of its highest consideration.

Military Attache in the  
Embassy of the Republic of India  
in the Russian Federation

Brig. D. Singh



Directorate of Foreign Relations  
Ministry of Defence of the  
Russian Federation

✓  
↑

134

3/7

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF CENTRAL ARCHIVE  
LETTER NO 22672 DATED 15 OCTOBER 96

Enclosed is a letter from Mr L Joychandra Singh which has been seen and it is replied that there are no records with the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation about the Catastrophe in August 1945 and death of Commander-in-Chief of the Indian National Army Mr Subhash Chandra Bose.

Enclosed : Two letters with our letter No 22672.

Chief of Central Archives  
Ministry of Defence  
of the Russian Federation

sd/- x x x x

(Colonel N BRILEV)

Forwarded to Embassy of India, Moscow, vide <sup>Russian</sup> Ministry of  
Defence Note Verbale No. 1843 of 28 October 1996.



Fax/Crash

From : Foreign New Delhi  
To : Indembassy Moscow

DCM from US(EE)

Kindly refer to your office's query regarding JS(EE)'s fax enclosing an Asian Age article on Netaji. Reproduced below is the required extract of an article in the Asian Age of 21 August 1998 titled "Nehru, Gandhi letters show Netaji alive after '45 Crash" by Dhiman Chattopadhyay :

Begins

Calcutta, Aug. 26 : In a letter to then British Prime Minister Clement Attlee in December 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote that he had news of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's whereabouts in Russia after August 1945 - days after he was supposed to have died in an aircrash near Tokyo. In a similar letter to his biographer Louis Fischer a few months earlier, Mahatma Gandhi wrote that Netaji was alive in Russia in 1946.

These and several other post-war documents unearthed from the archives of the erstwhile East Germany, Soviet Union and the United States have once again threatened to reopen the mystery surrounding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an aircrash in Taihoku in 1945.

With most of the new evidence in hand, a Hamburg based association of expatriate Indians have now written to Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, urging him to initiate a "serious and scientific" inquiry into the mystery. In a memorandum submitted to the Indian Prime Minister on August 15, 1998 and signed by more than 200 Indian expatriates, members of the group have claimed that the weight of existing evidence seriously challenges the aircrash theory. The most important pieces of evidence that have now come to light are :

- Dr. Radha Benode Pal, eminent jurist who represented India on the War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo, was shown the Allied Intelligence report of the alleged plane crash by the American Judge at the tribunal. According to this report, there was no plane crash at Taihoku within a time span of a week before or after August 18, 1945. (Letter from Netaji's nephew, the late Amiya Nath Bose, to then

Ends

(Abhay Thakur)  
US(EE)/1.9.98

ok



# Nehru, Gandhi letters show Netaji alive after '45 crash

By DHIMAN CHATTOPADHYAY

## SPOTLIGHT

Calcutta, Aug. 26: In a letter to then British Prime Minister Clement Attlee in December, 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote that he had news of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's whereabouts in Russia after August 1945 — days after he was supposed to have died in an air crash near Tokyo. In a similar letter to his biographer Louis Fischer a few months earlier, Mahatma Gandhi wrote that Netaji was alive in Russia in July 1946. These and several other post-war documents unearthed from the archives of the erstwhile East Germany, Soviet Union and the United States have once again threatened to reopen the mystery surrounding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death in an air crash at Taihoku in 1945.

With most of the new evidence in hand, a Hamburg-based association of expatriate Indians

have now written to Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, urging him to initiate a "serious and scientific" inquiry into the mystery. In a memorandum submitted to the Indian Prime Minister on August 15, 1998, and signed by more than 200 Indian expatriates, members of the group have claimed that the weight of existing evidence seriously challenges the air crash theory. The most important pieces of evidence that have now come to light are:

■ Dr Radha Benode Pal, eminent jurist who represented India on the War Crimes Tribunal in Tokyo, was shown the Allied intelligence report of the alleged plane crash by the American judge at the tribunal. According to this report, there was no plane crash at Taihoku within a time span of a week before or after August 18, 1945. (Letter from Netaji's nephew, the late Amiya Nath Bose, to then

### Continued from Page 1

Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao in 1992).

■ Deposition made under oath to the Khosla Commission by Shyam Lal Jain, personal stenographer of Jawaharlal Nehru, regarding a letter from Nehru to Prime Minister Clement Attlee of Britain in December 1946 referring to Subhas Bose's entry into Russian territory after August 1945. (Khosla Commission Records).

■ A letter written by Khurshed Naoroji on behalf of Mahatma Gandhi to Louis Fischer on July 22, 1946, mentioning that Gandhi had information to the effect that Subhas Bose was alive and in Russia in July 1946. (Princeton University Archives, US).

■ In early 1950, Reimund Schabel, a well-known journalist from the erstwhile East Germany told Ms Emilie Schenk Bose, wife of Netaji, that he had information regarding Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union. (Letter from Ms Schenk Bose.)

■ Grave doubts expressed by Mamoru Shigemitsu, foreign minister of Japan after the war (who held the same office under wartime Prime Minister Tojo as well), during the Shah Nawaz Commission's visit to Japan in 1955. (Letters between Amiya Nath Bose and Shigemitsu in 1955).

■ Refusal of solicitor-general's office to place Government of India records on the subject before the Calcutta high court in 1993.

■ Recent revelations regarding the existence of KGB files on Netaji after 1945, now available with three research scholars in the city of Calcutta.

The signatories, who include some senior Indian diplomats as well as various well-known and eminent citizens, have now urged the Prime Minister "to place before the people of India all relevant documents in the custody of the government of India related to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose."

They have also sought his intervention in requesting the governments of Russia, Britain and Japan to disclose files which can throw any light on the subject.

JS/CEE

Pls gpk.

Am  
27/8

les/CEE-A)

Spoken. Pls file  
in Netaji papers.

27/8

SOE/Ch  
Sn T



(137)

CF

FA

To : Foreign New Delhi

Director (EE) from Counsellor (Pol)

Enclosed are some papers in connection with access of  
 Soviet to KGB archives

Rg

*Arun K. Singh*  
 (Arun K. Singh)  
 Counsellor (Pol)  
 November 20, 1998

PC spk.

*Am*  
 22/11

Dir/EE

1. Request to transfer archival material - E/I to MFA
2. Request for any relevant material on NSB - E/I to MFA
3. Request for info - Jan 93, E/I to MFA
4. " " " " July 95, E/I to MFA?
5. " " discreet enquiries.



**Arun K. Singh**  
Counsellor(Pol)

भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
**EMBASSY OF INDIA,**  
6-8, Ulitsa Vorontsovo Poye  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 917-0820  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU  
Tele Fax 9752337

(138)

P-2/17

No. Mos/Pol/1251/98

January 02, 1998

My dear Ajai

I enclose with this letter a communication addressed to Shri Jaichandra Singh from the Director of the Centre for Preservation of Historical Documents of the State Archive Service of the Russian Federation.

I would be grateful if the communication along with its translation could be passed on to Shri Jaichandra Singh and a copy kept in your records.

Regards.

Yours sincerely,

*(Signature)*  
Arun K. Singh

Shri Ajai Malhotra,  
Joint Secretary(EE),  
Ministry of External Affairs,  
New Delhi.





P. 3/17

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Государственная архивная служба  
Российской Федерации

Центр хранения историко-  
документальных коллекций

125212, Москва, Выборгская ул., 3

Телефон 159-73-83

04 0252N

175

На N

от

М-ру Д. Джайчандра Сингх

Брадхатантра Билдинг  
Импхал, Манипур, Индия

Касается: информации о  
м-ре Субаш (Субах)  
Чандра Воде.

ДОРОГОЙ СЭР!

Центр хранения историко-документальных коллекций, к сожалению,  
не располагает никакой информацией о м-ре СУБАШ ЧАНДРА ВОДЕ.

С уважением,

Директор Центра

*M. M. Muxamedjanov*

М. М. Мухамеджанов



THE STATE ARCHIVE SERVICE  
Russian Federation  
Centre for Preservation of Historical Documental Collection  
125212, Moscow  
Vil'gorsk Street, 3  
Tel. 159-7383

P-4/12

(140)

04.08.1997 No. 175

To

Mr. L. Jaichandra Singh  
Prajatantra Building  
Imphal, Manipur. (India)

Dear Sir,

The Centre for Preservation of Historical Documental Collection,  
unfortunately, does not have any information on Subhash Chandra Bose.

Sd/-  
M.M. Muhammedzhanov  
Director of the Centre



(141)

**DOCUMENTATION RELATING TO**  
**NETAJI SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE**

Shri Chitta Basu, MP had written to later PM Shri Rajiv Gandhi in April 1987 about presence of Archival material in Czech Academy of Sciences. In 1988, he wrote to President Gorbachev.

2. On March 5, 1990, Hindustan Times quoted Dr. Yurlova, a scholar at the Institute of Oriental Studies mentioning that Soviet scholars in possession of documents on Netaji. On April 9, 1990 in response to a PQ, an assurance was given that "efforts will be made to obtain either the original papers or their copies so that they could be studied". Shri Samar Guha, MP, further took up the matter with EAM in May 1990. p Q

3. On May 21, 1990, the Embassy wrote to the MFA of the USSR requesting to explore the possibility of relevant materials, or copies of it, on Netaji being transferred to the National Archives in New Delhi. On August 17, 1990 the Soviet Foreign Office conveyed certain materials on Netaji available in Soviet Archives. Those materials, however, did not shed any further light on Netaji's fate or his sojourn in the USSR. May 50  
1.

4. In December 1990, the Embassy sent a message to MEA in answer to a PQ that the material which had been received by the Embassy from the Soviet Foreign Office did not refer at all to the possibility of Netaji having taken shelter in the USSR after the Second World War. The Embassy subsequently received some material from the Soviet Foreign Office and these were forwarded to the Ministry in May 1991. The documents "threw no additional light on the fate of Netaji or his possible presence in the Soviet Union after his disappearance in 1945". p Q.  
May 51  
-

5. On September 16, 1991, the Embassy wrote to the Soviet Foreign Office enclosing a collection of documents on Netaji received from Shri Chitta Basu, MP. These documents contained suggestions quoting Soviet Diplomats to the effect that Netaji might have found his way to the Soviet Union after the alleged plane crash in 1945. Our note sought "any material available in the archives of Soviet Organisations, including security organisation, which could shed light on the fate of Netaji". Sept 91  
2.

6. In its reply dated January 1992 the Russian MFA stated that "as per data available in the central and republic archives, there was



no information about the stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress, Netaji Subash Chandra Bose in the Soviet Union in 1945 and subsequent years".

7. In November 1992, Shri Samar Guha, MP wrote to MEA and FS asked the Embassy to see whether more information could be obtained from the Russian side, the matter was taken up with the Russian authorities. FS however wrote to Shri Guha that "our own enquiries with the Russians, pursuant to your suggestions, indicate that they themselves accept that Netaji died in the plane crash in 1945". However, based on FS's advise, the Mission took up the matter with the Russian Foreign Office on January 10, 1993.

3.

8. In Autumn 1993, the monthly journal "Asia and Africa Today" carried three articles on Netaji ostensibly drawing on KGB archival material. Inter alia, the article concluded with a "certificate" dated December 25, 1945 from the KGB archives signed by a NKVD functionary mentioning that "after the Japanese capitulation in the first half of September 1945, Tass, quoting British sources informed from Tokyo that Subash Chandra Bose, staying in Japan has died".

9. On July 27, 1995, the Embassy forwarded Shri Samar Guha's monogram "country must know what happened to Netaji". The note mentioned that there had been further speculation on Netaji's visit to the former Soviet Union in 1945 and requested that "all materials available on this subject be examined for a final determination on whether or not Netaji Subash Chandra Bose entered or stayed anywhere in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 or subsequently".

4.

10. "The Pioneer" of September 14, 1995 quoted Dr. Purabi Roy, Dr. Hari Vasudevan and Dr. Sobhanlal Dutta Gupta on their visit as a part of the Asiatic Society delegation and stating that request would be made for scholars to collect more information "Indian leaders". They specifically referred to "hitherto unknown facts about Netaji". "The Indian Express" on September 19, 1995 also carried a report "Government apathy leaves Netaji's fate buried in Moscow's files". These scholars mentioned "utmost difficulties" in gaining access to materials and also talked of "restrictions" imposed on them by a section of Embassy officials.

11. The MFA wrote to us on September 27, 1995 saying that their investigation with the Central Archival Collection of the Federal Security Service and the Russian Centre for Retention and Perusal of Documents of Modern History showed that "no information



whatsoever has come to light on the stay of Subhash Chandra Bose on the territory of the former USSR in 1945 and in subsequent years". In forwarding the letter Ambassador Kotov categorically asserted that "we can be sure that Netaji has never set foot on Russian soil" and that "extensive research can hardly leave any doubts" in this regard ||

12. "The Hindustan Times" of October 22, 1995 mentioned "Pranab's mission revives Netaji's death row". The same paper on December 10, 1995 mentioned Shri Chitta Basu, MP demanding a "fresh probe" into Netaji's death.

13. On March 27, 1996 MEA had forwarded PMO's letter of March 3, 1996 enclosing a letter from Shri Pradip Bose asking that Russian Government files on Netaji be "opened up". MEA had asked us to make discreet enquiries. S.

14. While accompanying the Hon'ble Speaker to Moscow, Shri Chita Basu, MP had brought up the subject of Netaji with members of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The Hon'ble MP wanted a clear statement from the Russian side regarding Netaji's death. Prof. Mitrokhin informed Shri Basu that FM Primakov, as the then Director of the Institute, had himself made an effort to find out the correct position on Netaji's stay in Russia. Prof. Mitrokhin also mentioned that certain documents regarding Netaji's arrival and transit through Russia from Afghanistan, on his way to Germany were available. He had, however, added that it would be necessary for him to go to Irkutsk Region to find additional details if available on the subject on Netaji's death in Russia. He hoped that he would be able to make the trip to the region.

15. On his return to India, Shri Basu wrote to Ambassador vide his letter dated October 26, 1996, mentioning about the meeting and requesting the Embassy to take up the question of the "mystery of Netaji's disappearance" further with the Russian Government and with the Archives.

16. On December 4, Members in the Lok Sabha demanded a "fresh probe into the mysterious disappearance of Netaji". Congress MP Ms. Mamta Banerjee is supposed to have pointed to newspaper reports from Moscow that Netaji might be alive and asked the Government to find out his whereabouts. Ms. Banerjee was supported by other MPs.

OSD (EE) had faxed a Hindustan Times report of December 3, 1996 regarding a letter from one Mr. Joychandra Singh of Imphal



written to Col. Brilev, the Chief of the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence seeking assistance in his research on the death of Netaji and "whether the Soviet Army had arrested him at Taipei". Mr. Singh had also asked whether Netaji had died in the plane crash. In his response of October 15, 1996, Col. Brilev informed Mr. Singh that "no records existed in the Central Archives of the Ministry of Defence on the circumstances surrounding the death in August 1945 of Netaji".

-- XX --



भारत का दूतावास, मास्को

EMBASSY OF INDIA,

6-8 Ulitsa Obukha

MOSCOW

Tel. No. 297-0820

P-9/17

145

September 16 1991

The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and has the honour to enclose herewith a collection of documents on Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, at one time a President of the Indian National Congress and a leading figure in the Indian freedom movement, received from Mr. Chitta Basu, Member of Parliament and General Secretary, All India Forward Bloc, a group founded by Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and at present a constituent of the Left Front Government in the Indian state of West Bengal.

2. In these documents there are suggestions quoting the then Soviet Ambassador in Kabul and the Soviet Vice Consul in Teheran to the effect that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose might have found his way to the Soviet Union after the alleged aeroplane crash in August 1945. As recently as March 5 1990, The Hindustan Times, an Indian daily newspaper, quoted a scholar of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies to the effect that there are two Soviet scholars who have applied to the Government of the USSR for permission to examine classified documents.

3. In the light of the current policy on Soviet national archives the Embassy of India would appreciate if any material that sheds light on the fate of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in the archives of Soviet organisations, including security organisations, is made available to the Embassy of India.

4. The Embassy of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR the assurances of its highest consideration.

Seal

Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Government of USSR,  
Moscow.

Encl. as above.



p-11/17

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भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Polya  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 917-0820  
Telex 413409 INDEMI-SU  
Tele Fax-9752337

No SA/83/95

July 27, 1995

The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and has the honour to refer to correspondence resting with their Note Verbale No. 2/YuA of 8 January, 1992, regarding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Enclosed is a booklet which contends that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose may have come to the former Soviet Union in 1945. There has been further speculation in this context reportedly on the basis of archival materials. In view of this, it would be highly appreciated if all materials available on the subject could be examined for a final determination on whether or not Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose entered or stayed anywhere in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 or subsequently.

The Embassy of India avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation the assurances of its highest consideration.



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
of the Russian Federation  
(South Asia Department)  
Moscow





492/Pol  
14.11.95  
Pripuran Singh Haer  
Charge d'Affaires

भारत का दूतावास, मास्को  
EMBASSY OF INDIA,  
6-8 Ulitsa Vorontsovo Polya  
MOSCOW  
Tel. No. 917-0520  
Telex 413409 INDEM-SU  
Tele Fax-9752337

P-12/17

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MOS/POL/125/1/90

October 31, 1995

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Vide his letter No. MOS/AMB/979/95 dated July 27, 1995, Ambassador had informed you that he had taken up with the Foreign Office the question of examination of all materials to finally determine whether Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had entered or stayed in the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 and in subsequent years. We have now been informed by the Foreign Office vide their note No. 73/YuA dated October 27, 1995 that after thorough investigations of all concerned records, there is no information whatsoever of Netaji having stayed on the territory of the former Soviet Union in 1945 and in subsequent years. The letter from Ambassador Kotov forwarding the note categorically asserts that "we can be sure that Netaji has never set foot on Russian soil" and that "extensive research can hardly leave any doubts" in this regard. A copy of Ambassador Kotov's letter and the Foreign Office note are enclosed.

2. I would like you to please bring this to the attention of Foreign Secretary and EAM.

Yours sincerely

(Pripuran Singh Haer)

Shri R. L. Narayan  
Joint Secretary (EE)  
Ministry of External Affairs  
New Delhi



9-13/17  
148

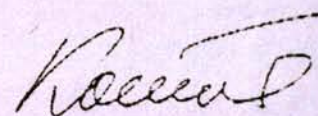
H.E. Mr. Ronen Sen  
Ambassador of India  
to the Russian Federation

Dear Ronen,

Enclosed You will find our note concerning Subhash Chandra Bose. Do believe that we have tried our best to discover any relevant facts.

Unfortunately, I am profoundly distressed being unable to provide any positive information on the subject of not the least importance for the Indian public. Alas, by now it appears that we can be sure that Netaji has never set foot on the Russian soil. Extensive research carried out upon the latest request of Yours can hardly leave any doubts to this effect.

Sincerely Yours,



Yu. Kotov



...N. CALCUTTA MOSS

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"ARCHIVES OF KGB AND KREMLIN HAVE DOCUMENTS ON NETAJI"  
ARCHIVES

CALCUTTA, SEPT 13 (PTI): SEVERAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO INDIA'S PROMINENT LEADER DURING THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE AND HIS MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE ARE STILL LYING IN THE INACCESSIBLE ARCHIVES OF THE DISBANDED KGB AND IN THE OFFICIAL ARCHIVE OF THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT IN THE KREMLIN.

SPECIAL PERMISSION OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT IS REQUIRED TO SCRUTINIZE THEM AND IT IS BELIEVED THAT EXAMINATION OF THESE DOCUMENTS MAY EVENTUALLY UNRAVEL THE MYSTERY BEHIND BOSE'S DISAPPEARANCE AT THE END OF THE WORLD WAR-II, ACCORDING TO THREE SCHOLARS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY WHO RECENTLY VISITED SOME OF THE 10 ARCHIVES IN MOSCOW UNDER AN INDO-RUSSIAN CULTURAL AGREEMENT.

DR. PURABI ROY (JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY), DR. HARI VASUDEVAN AND DR. SOBHANLAL DUTTA GUPTA (BOTH OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY) VISITED MOSCOW AS SCHOLARS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, AS PART OF THE CULTURAL AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN ASIATIC SOCIETY AND THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES, MOSCOW, TO COMPILE ACCESSIBLE MATERIALS PERTAINING TO INDO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS BETWEEN 1917 AND 1947.

THE SCHOLARS TOLD NEWSMEN HERE THAT THEY FACED 'UTMOST' DIFFICULTIES IN STUDYING THE AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE ERSTWHILE COMINTERN, CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SOVIET UNION (CPSU), RUSSIAN FEDERATION, RUSSIAN STATE ARCHIVE OF ECONOMY, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ARCHIVES OF ARMY HISTORY AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

SINCE THE AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE INDIAN HISTORY WERE MOSTLY IN 'DISARRAY', THE ARCHIVES FEDERATION.

SINCE THE AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE INDIAN HISTORY WERE MOSTLY IN 'DISARRAY', THE ARCHIVES IN KGB OFFICE AND IN PRESIDENT'S ARCHIVE IN KREMLIN ARE EXPECTED TO REVEAL THE HITHERTO UNKNOWN FACTS ABOUT BOSE, THEY SAID.

BOSE, WHO WAS THE PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY, WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE DIED IN A PLANE CRASH IN THE SOUTH EAST ASIA IN 1944.

(MORE) PTI PB MPV

100 marks to be done.

9/13/1

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NNNN.CALCUTTA MOS6

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ARCHIVES 2

CALCUTTA

ASIATIC SOCIETY'S GENERAL SECRETARY, DR. CHANDAN ROYCHOWDHURY, SAID INDIAN PRIME MINISTER P.V. NARASIMHA RAO WOULD BE REQUESTED TO SEEK HELP FROM THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENT TO ALLOW INDIAN SCHOLARS TO HAVE ACCESS TO HIS ARCHIVE IN THE KREMLIN AND ALSO IN THE KGB'S ARCHIVE IN MOSCOW FOR COLLECTING MORE INFORMATION ABOUT INDIAN LEADERS.

THE SCHOLARS, WHO SPENT ABOUT 6,000 U.S. DOLLARS FOR HAVING ACCESS TO THE ARCHIVES IN MOSCOW, REGRETTED THAT IN MOST CASES, THEY WERE NOT ALLOWED TO STUDY THE REQUIRED FILES AND DOCUMENTS. THE PROBLEMS WERE FURTHER ACCENTUATED DUE TO 'RESTRICTION' IMPOSED BY A SECTION OF OFFICIALS OF THE INDIAN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, THEY SAID.

ON THE REVEALING FACTS ABOUT SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE, THEY SAID DOCUMENTS AT THE ARCHIVES OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION INDICATED THAT A RUSSIAN AGENT, V.G. SAYADYANT, WHO WAS ALLOWED TO FUNCTION IN INDIA BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, CARRIED A LETTER FROM PUNDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, ANOTHER INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEADER AND THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER, IN AUGUST, 1946, TO MOSCOW ON WAY TO TEHERAN WHICH HAD A MENTION ABOUT BOSE BEING ALIVE.

MOREOVER, THE SCHOLARS QUOTED AN ARTICLE OF V. TURADZEV, A SUB-EDITOR OF 'ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY', FOUND AMONG THE ARCHIVAL MATERIALS, TO SAY THAT THE RUSSIAN AGENT SOUGHT TO CONVEY THE MESSAGE TO MOSCOW IN SEPTEMBER, 1946, THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT MIGHT HAVE TO CONTACT 'FORWARD BLOC AS ONE OF THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA AND ITS LEADER SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'. THESE REFERENCES POINTED TO BOSE BEING ALIVE EVEN IN 1946, THE SCHOLARS SAID. (MORE) PTI PB MPV



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ARCHIVES 3 LAST

CALCUTTA

DR. PURABI ROY, PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF JALPAIGURI UNIVERSITY IN THE WEST BENGAL STATE, SAID THEY ALSO CAME TO KNOW THAT A TASS CORRESPONDENT HAD COLLECTED MORE INFORMATION ABOUT BOSE IN 1992 "WHO QUESTIONED THE STUNNING SILENCE BEING MAINTAINED BY BOTH DELHI AND MOSCOW ABOUT BOSE'S WHEREABOUTS".

"IT WAS ALSO FOUND IN THE AVAILABLE DOCUMENTS THAT THE 'PRAVDA', IN ITS 1946 EDITORIAL, BROUGHT OUT THE FIRST-EVER SENSATIONAL STORY ABOUT NETAJI, THEY SAID, ADDING THAT THERE WAS NO FURTHER DETAILS ABOUT THE NEWS ITEM.

BESIDES, THERE WERE REFERENCE TO BOSE'S WHEREABOUTS IN THE COMMUNICATION MADE BY THE FORMER SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN JACOB MALIK IN THE DOCUMENTS 'WE COLLECTED IN THE ARCHIVES IN MOSCOW', THE SCHOLARS SAID.

ALLEGING THAT THE INDIAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS DID NOT ALLOW THEM TO PROCEED FURTHER WITH THE DOCUMENTS, THEY SAID MOST OF THE ARCHIVAL MATERIALS HAD BEEN 'SOLD OUT' BY THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT TO THE SUPER POWERS; INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, UNITED KINGDOM AND FRANCE, SOON AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION. MOST OF THE SUPERVISORS OF THE ARCHIVES HAD LEFT RUSSIA AND TAKEN SHELTER IN THE U.S., THEY SAID.

ALL THE THREE SCHOLARS WERE OF THE VIEW THAT THE 'HAPHAZARD' SERIALS OF THE ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS AND 'LIMITED' TIME TO GO THROUGH HAD POSED 'SERIOUS PROBLEMS' TO THEM. ARE AFRAID THAT VITAL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO INDIA MIGHT ALREADY GONE OUT OF RUSSIA SINCE MANY FILED WERE FOUND MISSING", DR. VASUDEVAN SAID. PTI PB MPV



Copy made on 4/12/98

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D.205-JS(EE)/96  
Ministry of External Affairs  
(Europe East Division)

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1352/NGO/96

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This refers to the old controversy regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. From time to time, various articles have appeared in the Soviet/Russian press insinuating, though without any actual proof, that Netaji in fact stayed/was incarcerated in the Soviet Union after 1945.

2. Since the matter is of considerable public interest, we had taken up the matter with the Russian authorities through our Embassy in Moscow. In January, 1992, we had received a disclaimer from the Russian Foreign Ministry to the effect that "according to the data in the Central and Republican Archives, no information whatsoever is available on the stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, in the Soviet Union in 1945 and thereafter." Subsequently, in March, 1994, the Russian Foreign Ministry had sent us a non-paper refining the above statement to say that "according to the data of the central archives of the former USSR and the Russian archives, no evidence of stay of the former President of the Indian National Congress, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, in the Soviet Union in 1945 or in subsequent years, had been found."

3. Pursuant to a cooperation Agreement signed between the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation, a group of scholars had visited Moscow last year to research this issue. Again, while no proof of Netaji's stay in the Soviet Union was adduced, it was mentioned that a number of personalities whom the team met "had suggestive words to ventilate", and that "the people of this country and all over the globe are very much interested to know about the cloud that had been created around Netaji concerning Russia."

4. The Asiatic Society's team came to the conclusion that it would be essential to consult the KGB archives to conclusively set the controversy at rest. "But one point is clear that unless the Ministry of External Affairs of our Government prevail upon the Russian authorities to allow our scholars access to KGB archives it is absolutely impossible for the scholars to pursue the matter further either of this country or of scholars of Russia."

5. It may be mentioned that there are broadly three kinds of archives which may be of relevance. Papers relating to the Stalinist period (KGB archives) are kept separately and have so far not been accessed

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by foreign and even Russian scholars, with the exception perhaps of very limited and selected scholars like the late historian Volkogonov, who has published biographies of Lenin and Stalin on this basis. Papers relating to the post-Stalinist period fall into two categories - governmental and Central Committee/Politburo (these are again kept separately). The Russian Foreign Ministry's Note Verbale suggests that their disclaimers about Netaji may be based essentially on perusal of these latter archives.

6. It would be unrealistic for us to expect the Russian authorities to allow our scholars access to KGB archives. What we can do is to request the Russian authorities to conduct a search into these archives and let us know if there is any evidence of Netaji's stay in the Soviet Union.

7. It is recommended that we may request our Ambassador in Moscow to make a suitable demarche to the Russian authorities on the above lines.

*R.L.N.*  
(R.L. Narayan)  
Joint Secretary (EE)  
January 12, 1996

Foreign Secretary

*S. / m. m. m.*

EAM / F.S and J.S (EE) *at Dissem* 14/1  
*unsub.*

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*HS*

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*As (EE)* *8.5*

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(154)

No. 958/JS(EF)/96  
Ministry of External Affairs  
(Europe East Division)

Placed below is a letter addressed to PM by Shri Pradip Bose regarding material on Netaji Subash Chandra Bose available in Russia. PMO have sought the comments of the Ministry of External Affairs.

3680/JS/96  
8/3

2. The MEA has, in fact, formally approached the Russian Government for information regarding the veracity of press reports which have appeared from time to time on the presence of Netaji in the erstwhile Soviet Union after 1945. The Russian Government has informed us that, on checking their records, they do not have any evidence to this effect. A copy of the Note Verbale from the Russian Foreign Ministry is enclosed.

3. It may be mentioned that, recently, Shri Ashish Ray, grandson of Netaji's elder brother, had addressed a press conference in Delhi at which he had released a copy of the Russian Note asserting this position. The Russian Ambassador Drukov was also present at the press conference and had confirmed the authenticity of the Russian Note. A copy of the statement made by Ambassador Drukov is also enclosed.

4. Pursuant to an Agreement signed between the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow, scholars of the Asiatic Society had recently researched Russian historical material on Netaji. A copy of an article in the Pioneer (14 September, 1995) detailing their findings is enclosed.

5. It would appear that:

- i) The Asiatic Society scholars have unearthed no hard evidence of Netaji's stay in the Soviet Union after 1945.
- ii) They have referred to certain secret KGB files and Presidential archives in which this information is supposedly available; and
- iii) They have requested Government of India to make a formal request to the Russian Government for access to these files.

6. Dr Bose has gone a step further and has requested Government of India to seek access to these files for the scholars of the Asiatic Society.

7. It would be appreciated that no country in the world would permit access by foreign governments, let alone scholars from foreign countries, to its intelligence files. We have no evidence that such files exist; on the contrary, the Russian Government has categorically told us that they have no evidence in their archives that Netaji was in the USSR after 1945.



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8. The Russian Government has no reason to hide any information which it may have on the subject, since it was the Soviet Union, which it disowns, which was responsible for any action in this regard.

9. In the circumstances, it is felt that it would not be appropriate for Government of India to make a formal request to the Russian Government to open their KGB/Presidential archives to the Asiatic Society scholars. This would amount to our disbelieving the Russian Government's categorical and official statement on the subject.

120N  
(R.L. Narayan)  
Joint Secretary (EE)  
7.3.1996

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958/SSOEE/96

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S. I. Mishra  
8/3

JS (N), PMO

PM would like our Ambassador in Moscow to make discreet enquiries at a high level to ascertain, if possible, the existence of such information in Russia; and the possible reaction of the Russian side if we were to request access.

Foreign Secy. may kindly see.

70/11/21/96-101  
dated 26/3/96

Senon  
25/3/96

Foreign Secy

May pl. see.

S. I. Mishra  
27/3

Amb. Sen.



[ 958 / JS (EE) / 96  
PMO 1139 / M / JS (M) / 96

S. No. 24 - added

T - 582 / M 90 / 96

S. No. 25 - receipt

T - 662 / M 90 / 96

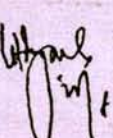

S. No. 26 - done

JS (EN) has desired to see this file.  
submitted please.

  
20/8/96


Wood  
20.8.96

SO (NFO)

JS (EN)   


in o/s

JS (EE) has desired to see this file.  
submitted please

  
18/11/96

Wood  
18.11.96

SO (TF)

TS (TF)



~~SECRET~~ 157

No. 7-32 /JS(EE)/96  
Ministry of External Affairs  
(Europe East Division)  
....

Reference letter addressed to EAM from the Acting General Secretary of the Asiatic Society, placed below at FR, requesting MEA to take up with the Russian Government the issue of access to certain archives for research purposes.

2. By way of background, it may be mentioned that the Asiatic Society and the Russian Oriental Institute had entered into a cooperative agreement for facilitating research into Indo-Russian relations. The Asiatic Society had thereafter sent a three-member team to Moscow to gather information relating to Indo-Russian relations from 1917-47. The Asiatic Society feels that, in order to complete this research, they would need access to the Presidential Archives, the Archives of the Foreign Security Service and the Archives of the Army General Staff.

✓ 3. It would not be appropriate for us as a Government to seek access to these archives. The Presidential Archive contains the proceedings of Politburo meeting. The Archives of the Foreign Security Services are part of the KGB Archives. The Archives of the Army General Staff are also security and intelligence related archives.

✓ 4. Access to these archives has been given by the Russian Government on a highly selective basis to one or two reputed scholars, like the Russian historian, General Volkogonov, and the US academic, Richard Pipes, who have thereafter published works on Lenin (and Stalin) based on this material. The main purpose of these works has been to directly implicate these founders of the USSR, Lenin in particular, with the terror of the Soviet period. These biographies, therefore, serve a definite political purpose as far as the present Russian Government is concerned.



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to these highly classified and security and intelligence related documents, based on nothing more

✓ 5. Obviously, no Government in the world can be expected to throw open its secret archives for general research, on the basis suggested by the Asiatic Society. Equally, it would not be appropriate for the Government of India to seek access to these archives, which have not been declassified so far. We would, if nothing else, be embarrassed were a similar request, on the basis of reciprocity, to be made to us by the Russian Government at a later stage.

✓ 6. It may also be mentioned that, after the Asiatic Society scholars had returned from Moscow last year, they had given interviews to the Indian press indicating that, on the basis of the archives which they had examined, they had found evidence that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was alive in the Soviet Gulag after the air crash in which it is generally accepted that he died in 1945. This led to questions in our Parliament. At that time, we had again taken up the question of Netaji's supposed survival with the Russian Government. The Russian Government had, formally and in writing, reiterated what they had told us earlier, namely that there is no evidence whatsoever in their archives to support any speculation regarding Netaji's presence in the Soviet Union after 1945.

7. In view of the above background, it may be safely surmised that the Asiatic Society wants access to these secret archives essentially in order to go on a fishing expedition in search of material on Netaji, which, its scholars have convinced themselves, exists in these archives. Indeed, Shri Pradip Bose, who is a relative of Netaji, had written to the former PM last year seeking access to these archives precisely in order to further such research. These papers, which are held in NGO, are placed below at flags "A" and "B" respectively.

✓ 8. Our seeking to obtain access to these classified archives on behalf of the Asiatic Society, after the Russian Government has repeatedly and formally told us that they have no evidence of Netaji having been in the Soviet Union after 1945 can therefore be easily misunderstood by the Russian side. From the present perspective of Indo-Russian relations, such a request would serve no positive purpose, but could well have a negative impact. In any case, it would not be appropriate for the Government of India to seek access

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to these highly classified and security and intelligence related documents, based on nothing more substantial than an Agreement between two non-governmental organisations.

9. In response to the present letter to EAM, we may advise the Asiatic Society to continue to seek access to these archives through the Institute of Oriental Studies, their counterpart organisation in Russia. This letter could issue at my level.

R. L. Narayan  
(R.L. Narayan)  
Joint Secretary (EE)  
18.11.1996

EAM

25/x1

Letter to Dr. Sarason of Asiatic  
Societies issued. Copy is placed below.

26/x1/96

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In AS.

4075/JS(EE) - S.No - 28

S.N. 29 -

S.N. 30 -

Added  
Added  
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T-476/PS/96  
19/11/96

T-186/EAM/96  
20/11/96

1 ES

R. L. Narayan  
19/11

T-484/PS/96  
26/11

E.S.

JS(EE)

T-374/JS(EE)/96  
26/11/96



P-4/17

(160)

The State Archive Service  
Russian Federation  
Centre for Preservation of Historical Documental Collection  
1252/2, Moscow  
Viborgsk Street, 3  
Tel: 159-7383

04.08.1997 No. 175

To

Mr. L. Jaichandra Singh  
Prajatantra Building  
Imphal, Manipur. (India)

Dear Sir,

The Centre for Preservation of Historical Documental Collection,  
unfortunately, does not have any information on Subhash Chandra Bose.

Sd/-

M.M. Muhammedzhanov  
Director of the Centre



KW-III to File No. 25/4/1/NH-III-V

भारत सरकार  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

**SECRET**

विदेश मंत्रालय  
**MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**

NGO Section  
नई दिल्ली  
NEW DELHI

DN: 3115/NGO/2000

07-04-2000

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FILE NO.

W1/411/05/95-EE

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VOLUME

KW-III to File No. 25/4/1/NH-III-V  
टिप्पणियां/पत्राचार

**NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE**

विषय  
**Subject**

Please see inside.

Papers received from EE Divn.

पिछले हवाले  
Previous Reference

बाद के हवाले  
Later Reference